Lawrence J. Johnson

WORSHIP IN THE EARLY CHURCH 3

An Anthology of Historical Sources

VOLUME THREE

WORSHIP
IN THE EARLY CHURCH

An Anthology
of Historical Sources

Volume Three

Worship in the Early Church is a four-volume collection of excerpts from early Christian writings illustrating the Church's liturgical practice in both East and West, from its Jewish beginnings through the end of the sixth century. Source material includes doctrinal and historical treatises, scriptural commentaries, sermons, letters, synodal legislation, early church orders, monastic rules, and baptismal and funeral epigrams. Each author or major selection is preceded by a short introduction containing such information as dates, country of origin, and various other background details. A bibliography of pertinent periodical and liturgical literature is given as well as a bibliography referencing standard encyclopedias of religion and manuals of patrology.

Volume 1— Jewish prayers from table and synagogue; Subapostolic Era: the *Didache,* Clement of Rome, Ignatius of Antioch, Pastor Hermas; Second Century: Justin Martyr, Irenaeus of Lyons, Melito of Sardis; Third Century: Tertullian, Cyprian of Carthage, Hippolytus of Rome, the *Didascalia of the Apostles,* Origen, the *Apostolic Church Order;* and others.

Volume 2— Fourth Century, West: Optatus of Milevis, Zeno of Verona, Ambrose of Milan, Pope Siricius, Hilary of Poitiers, Pacian of Barcelona, Synod of Elvira (ca. 300); Fourth Century, East: Lactantius, Basil the Great, Gregory of Nazianzus, Pseudo-Ignatius, Gregory of Nyssa, the Council of Nicaea (325), John Chrysostom, *Apostolic Constitutions;* and others.

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A PUEBLO BOOK

Liturgical Press Collegeville, Minnesota
www.litpress.org

A Pueblo Book published by Liturgical Press

Cover design by David Manahan, OSB

Excerpt (117), Inscription. Lateran Baptistery: from the article "The Fountain of Life in Manuscripts of the Gospels," by P.A. Underwood in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 5 (Cambridge, MA), 55. Reprinted courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Trustees for Harvard University.

Excerpt (140-A), *Hymn for the Dedication of a New Church:* from *Eucharist and Eschatology*, by G. Wainwright (London: Oxford University Press), p. 47. Copyright © 1971. Reprinted by permission of SCM Press.

Excerpts (143-A), *The Seventy-Three Canons:* from *The Canons Ascribed to Mārūtā of Maipherqat and Related Sources*, vol. 2, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 440, ed. A. Vööbus (Leuven: Peeter's Publishers), pp. 94–95. Copyright © 1982. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Johnson, Lawrence J., 1933–
Worship in the early church : an anthology of historical sources / Lawrence J. Johnson.
p. cm.
"A Pueblo book."
Includes index.
ISBN 978-0-8146-6197-0 (v. 1) — ISBN 978-0-8146-6198-7 (v. 2) — ISBN 978-0-8146-6199-4 (v. 3) — ISBN 978-0-8146-6226-7 (v. 4)
1. Worship—History—Early church, ca. 30–600. 2. Church history—Primitive and early church, ca. 30–600. I. Title.
BV6.J64 2009
264.00937—dc22

2009035344

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Abbreviations

SCRIPTURE

Acts	Acts of the Apostles	Joel	Joel
Amos	Amos	John	John
Bar	Baruch	1 John	1 John
Cant	Canticle of Canticles	2 John	2 John
1 Chr	1 Chronicles	3 John	3 John
2 Chr	2 Chronicles	Jonah	Jonah
Col	Colossians	Josh	Joshua
1 Cor	1 Corinthians	Jude	Jude
2 Cor	2 Corinthians	Judg	Judges
Dan	Daniel	1 Kgs	1 Kings
Deut	Deuteronomy	2 Kgs	2 Kings
Eccl	Ecclesiastes	Lam	Lamentations
Eph	Ephesians	Lev	Leviticus
Esth	Esther	Luke	Luke
Exod	Exodus	1 Macc	1 Maccabees
Ezek	Ezekiel	2 Macc	2 Maccabees
Ezra	Ezra	Mal	Malachi
Gal	Galatians	Mark	Mark
Gen	Genesis	Matt	Matthew
Hab	Habakkuk	Mic	Micah
Hag	Haggai	Nah	Nahum
Heb	Hebrews	Neh	Nehemiah
Hos	Hosea	Num	Numbers
Isa	Isaiah	Obad	Obadiah
Jas	James	1 Pet	1 Peter
Jdt	Judith	2 Pet	2 Peter
Jer	Jeremiah	Phil	Philippians
Job	Job	Phlm	Philemon

Prov	Proverbs	2 Thess	2 Thessalonians
Ps/Pss	Psalms	1 Tim	1 Timothy
Rev	Revelation	2 Tim	2 Timothy
Rom	Romans	Titus	Titus
Ruth	Ruth	Tob	Tobit
1 Sam	1 Samuel	Wis	Wisdom
2 Sam	2 Samuel	Zech	Zechariah
Sir	Sirach	Zeph	Zephaniah
1 Thess	1 Thessalonians		

PERIODICALS AND BOOKS MOST FREQUENTLY CITED

AB	*Analecta Bollandiana* (Brussels, 1882ff.).
ABR	*American Benedictine Review* (Atchison, KS, 1950ff.).
AC	*Antike und Christentum* (Münster, 1929–50).
AER	*American Ecclesiastical Review* (Washington, D.C., 1889–1975).
Altaner (1961)	B. Altaner, *Patrology*, trans. H.C. Graef, 2nd ed. (New York, 1961).
Altaner (1966)	B. Altaner, *Patrologie. Leben, Schriften und Lehre der Kirchenväter*, 6th ed., rev. A. Stüber (Freiburg/Basel/Vienna, 1966).
Altaner (1978)	B. Altaner, *Patrologie. Leben, Schriften und Lehre der Kirchenväter*, 8th ed., rev. A. Stüber (Freiburg/Basel/Vienna, 1978).
ALW	*Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* (Regensburg, 1950ff.).
Amb	*Ambrosius* (Milan, 1925–60).
ANF	A. Roberts and J. Donaldson, eds., *The Ante-Nicene Fathers: Translations of the Writings of the Fathers down to* A.D. 325 (New York, 1885, 1926).
Ant	*Antonianum* (Rome, 1926ff.).
APB	*Acta Patristica et Byzantina* (Praetoria, 1990ff.).
ApT	*Apostolic Tradition.*
Assem	*Assembly* (Notre Dame, 1974ff.).
AThR	*Anglican Theological Review* (New York, 1918ff.).
Aug	*Augustinianum* (Rome, 1961ff.).
AugMag	*Augustus Magister*, Congrès international augustinien (Paris, Sept. 21–24, 1954). Vols. I and II: *Communications*; vol. III: *Acts*.
BALAC	*Bulletin d'ancienne litérature et d'archéologie chrétienne* (Paris, 1911–14).

Bardenhewer (1908)	O. Bardenhewer, *Patrology: The Lives and Works of the Fathers of the Church*, trans. T.J. Shahan (Freiburg i. B./St. Louis, 1908).
Bardenhewer (1910)	O. Bardenhewer, *Patrologie* (Freiburg i. B., 1910).
Bardenhewer (1913)	O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur*, 5 vols. (Freiburg i. B./St. Louis, 1913–32).
Bardy (1929)	G. Bardy, *The Greek Literature of the Early Christian Church*, trans. Mother Mary Reginald, Catholic Library of Religious Knowledge 2 (St. Louis, 1929).
Bardy (1930)	G. Bardy, *The Christian Latin Literature of the First Six Centuries*, trans. Mother Mary Reginald, Catholic Library of Religious Knowledge 12 (St. Louis, 1930).
Bautz	F.W. Bautz, ed., *Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon* (Hamm Westf., 1970ff.).
BCE	*Bulletin du comité des études* (Paris, 1953–70).
Bib	*Biblica* (Rome, 1920ff.).
BLE	*Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique* (Toulouse, 1899ff.).
Bouyer	L. Bouyer, *Eucharist: Theology and Spirituality of the Eucharistic Prayer* (Notre Dame, 1968).
BT	*The Bible Today* (Collegeville, 1962ff.).
BVC	*Bible et vie chrétienne* (Brussels/Paris, 1953–68).
CA	*Cahiers archéologiques* (Paris, 1945ff.).
Campbell	J.M. Campbell, *The Greek Fathers*, Our Debt to Greece and Rome series (New York, 1929).
CATH	G. Jacquemet, ed., *Catholicisme*, 9 vols. (Paris, 1947ff.).
CB	*Collationes Brugenses* (Bruges, 1896–1954).
CC	*La Civiltà Cattolica* (Rome, 1850ff.).
CCL	*Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina* (Turnhout, 1954ff.).
CE	*Catholic Encyclopedia*, 13 vols. + index (New York, 1907–14).
CH	*Church History* (Chicago and Tallahassee, 1932ff.).
CHECL	F. Young, L. Ayres, and A. Louth, eds., *The Cambridge History of Early Christian Literature* (Cambridge, 2004).
ChQ	*Church Quarterly Review* (London, 1875–1968).
Chr	*Christus* (Paris, 1954ff.).
CollMech	*Collectanea Mechliniensia* (Mechlin, 1927–70).
ComL	*Communautés et liturgies* (Ottignies, 1975ff.).
Con	*Concilium* (Glen Rock, NJ, etc., 1965ff.).
Courtonne	Y. Courtonne, ed., *Saint Basile: Lettres*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1957, 1961, 1966).
CPG	M. Geerard and F. Glorie, eds., *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, 5 vols. (Turnhout, 1974–87).

CPGS	M. Geerard and others, eds., *Clavis Patrum Graecorum Supplementum* (Turnhout, 1998).
Cph	*Classical Philology* (Chicago, 1906ff.).
CPL	E. Dekkers and A. Gaar, eds., *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*, 3rd ed. (Turnhout/Steebrugge, 1995).
CR	*The Clergy Review* (London, 1931–87).
CRI	*Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* (Paris, 1857ff.).
Cross	F.L. Cross, *The Early Christian Fathers* (London, 1960).
CS	*Chicago Studies* (Mundelein, IL, 1962ff.).
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum (Vienna, 1866ff.).
CV	G.M. Diez, *Concilios visigóticos e hispano-romanos* (Barcelona/Madrid, 1963).
DACL	F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq, eds., *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, 15 vols. (Paris, 1913–53).
DCA	W. Smith, ed., *A Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, 2 vols. (London, 1876–80).
DCB	W. Smith and H. Wace, eds., *A Dictionary of Christian Biography, Literature, Sects and Doctrines*, 4 vols. (London, 1877–87).
DDC	R. Naz and others, eds., *Dictionnaire de droit canonique*, 7 vols. (Paris, 1935–65).
DDCon	P. Palazzini, ed., *Dizionario dei Concili*, 6 vols. (Rome, 1963–67).
DEC	N.P. Tanner, ed., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils* (London/Washington, D.C., 1990).
Deiss	L. Deiss, *Springtime of the Liturgy: Liturgical Texts of the First Four Centuries* (Collegeville, 1979).
DGA	P.-P. Joannou, ed., *Disciplina Generale Antique* (Rome, 1962).
DHGE	A. Baudrillart, ed., *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques* (Paris, 1912ff.).
DictSp	M. Viller and others, eds., *Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique* (Paris, 1937ff.).
Did	*Didache.*
Didas	*Didascalia Apostolorum.*
Di Sante	C. di Sante, *Jewish Prayer: The Origins of the Christian Liturgy*, trans. M.J. O'Connell (New York, 1991).
Div	*Divinitas* (Vatican City, 1957ff.).
Dix	G. Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, 4th ed. (Westminster, 1949).
DLW	J.G. Davies, ed., *A Dictionary of Liturgy and Worship* (New York, 1972).
Dolbeau	F. Dolbeau, ed., *Vingt-six sermons au peuple d'Afrique / Augustin d'Hippone; retrouvés à Mayence*, Collection des études augustiniennes, Série Antiquité 147 (Paris, 1996).

DPAC	A. di Berardino, ed., *Dizionario Patristico e di Antichità Cristiane*, 3 vols. (Marietti, 1983–88).
DR	*Downside Review* (Bath, England, 188off.).
DT	*Divus Thomas* (Fribourg i. S., 1871–1953).
DTC	A. Vacant, E. Mangenot, and E. Amann, eds., *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, 15 vols. (Paris, 1903–50).
DV	*Dieu vivant* (Paris, 1945–55).
EC	P. Paschini and others, eds., *Enciclopedia Cattolica*, 12 vols. (Vatican City, 1949–54).
ED	*Euntes Docete* (Rome, 1948ff.).
EEC	A. di Berardino, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Early Church*, trans. A. Walford, with a foreword and bibliographic amendments by W.H.C. Frend, 2 vols. (New York, 1992).
EEChr	E. Ferguson, ed., *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (New York, 1997).
EgT	*Eglise et théologie* (Ottawa, 1970–99).
Elbogen (1962)	I. Elbogen, *Der jüdische Gottesdienst in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, 4th ed. (Hildesheim, 1962).
Elbogen (1993)	I. Elbogen, *Jewish Liturgy: A Comprehensive History*, trans. R.P. Scheindlin (Philadelphia/New York, 1993).
EO	*Echos d'Orient* (Paris, 1897–1942).
EOr	*Ecclesia Orans* (Rome, 1984ff.).
EphL	*Ephemerides Liturgicae* (Rome, 1887ff.).
ERP	*Etudes religieuses, philosophiques, historiques, et litteraires* (Paris, 1888–1940).
EstAg	*Estudio Teologico Augustiniano* (Valladolid, Spain, 1973ff.).
Et	*Etudes* (Paris, 1897ff.).
ETL	*Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* (Louvain, 1924ff.).
ETR	*Etudes théologiques et religieuses* (Montpellier, 1926ff.).
ExpT	*The Expository Times* (Edinburgh, 1889ff.).
FF	*France franciscaine* (Lille, 1912–29).
FLDG	Forschungen zur christliche Literatur- und Dogmengeschichte (Mainz/Paderborn, 1910–38).
Folia	*Folia. Studies in the Christian Perpetuation of the Classics* (Worcester, MA, 1959–79).
FThSt	Freiburger theologische Studien (Freiburg i. B., 1910ff.).
FZPT	*Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie* (Fribourg i. S., 1954ff.).
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten (drei) Jahrhunderte (Berlin, 1897ff.).
Goodspeed	E. J. Goodspeed, *A History of Early Christian Literature*, rev. and enl. R. Grant (Chicago, 1966).

GOTR	*Greek Orthodox Theological Review* (Brookline, MA, 1954ff.).
Greg	*Gregorianum* (Rome, 1920ff.).
Hamell	P.J. Hamell, *Handbook of Patrology* (New York, 1968).
Hänggi	A. Hänggi and I. Pahl, *Prex Eucharistica: Textus e Variis Liturgicis Antiquioribus Selecti* (Fribourg i. S., 1968).
Harp	*Harp: A Review of Syriac and Oriental Studies* (Kerala, India, 1987–2000).
Hefele (1905)	C.J. Hefele, *Histoire des conciles d'après les documents originaux*, trans. H. Leclercq, 11 vols. (Paris, 1905–52).
Hefele (1871)	C.J. Hefele, *A History of the Councils of the Church: From the Original Documents*, trans. W.R. Clark and H.N. Oxenham, 5 vols. (Edinburgh, 1871–96).
HS	*Hispania sacra* (Madrid, 1948ff.).
HThR	*Harvard Theological Review* (New York, 1908–9; Cambridge, MA, 1910ff.).
Idelsohn	A.Z. Idelsohn, *Jewish Liturgy and Its Development* (New York, 1967).
IER	*Irish Ecclesiastical Record* (Dublin, 1864–1968).
Imp	*Impacts: Revue de l'Université catholique de l'Ouest* (Angers, 1967ff.).
Ire	*Irénikon* (Amay, 1926ff.).
Ist	*Istina* (Paris, 1954ff.).
ITQ	*Irish Theological Quarterly* (Dublin, 1906–22; Maynooth, 1951ff.).
Jasper	R.C.D. Jasper and G.J. Cuming, *Prayers of the Eucharist: Early and Reformed*, 3rd rev. ed. (Collegeville, 1992).
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature* (Boston/New Haven, 1890ff.).
JECS	*Journal of Early Christian Studies* (Baltimore, 1993ff.).
JEH	*The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* (London, 1950ff.).
Jeremias (1960)	J. Jeremias, *Die Abendmahlsworte Jesu*, 3rd. ed. (Göttingen, 1960).
Jeremias (1966)	J. Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus*, trans. N. Perrin (London, 1966).
JL	*Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft* (Münster, 1921–41).
JLH	*Jahrbuch für Liturgie und Hymnologie* (Kassel, 1955ff.).
JQR	*The Jewish Quarterly Review* (London, 1889–94; New York, 1896–1908).
JR	*The Journal of Religion* (Chicago, 1921ff.).
JThSt	*The Journal of Theological Studies* (London, 1900–1905; Oxford, 1906–49; n.s. 1950ff.).
JucL	*Jucunda Laudatio* (Milan, 1963ff.).
Jurgens	W.A. Jurgens, *The Faith of the Early Fathers*, 3 vols. (Collegeville, 1970–79).

Kat	*Katholik: Zeitschrift für katholische Wissenschaft und kirchliches Leben* (Mainz, 1821–89).
Labriolle (1947)	P.C. de Labriolle, *Histoire de la littérature latine chrétienne*, 3rd rev. ed. (Paris, 1947).
Labriolle (1968)	P.C. de Labriolle, *History and Literature of Christianity from Tertullian to Boethius*, trans. H. Wilson, History of Civilization (New York, 1968).
LAC	*L'Ami du clergé* (Langres, France, 1888–1968).
Latomus	*Latomus. Revue d'études latines* (Brussels, 1937ff.).
Lau	*Laurentianum* (Rome, 1960ff.).
Leigh-Bennett	E. Leigh-Bennett, *Handbook of the Early Christian Fathers* (London, 1920).
LJ	*Liturgisches Jahrbuch* (Münster, 1951ff.).
LMD	*La Maison-Dieu* (Paris, 1945ff.).
LMF	*Le messager des fidèles* (Mardesous, 1884–89).
LNPF	P. Schaff and H. Wace, eds., *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church* (repr. Grand Rapids, 1951ff.).
LO	Lex Orandi (Paris, 1944–71).
LQF	Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen und Forschungen (Münster i. W., 1918–39).
LThPh	*Laval théologique et philosophique* (Quebec, 1970–82).
LTK	W. Kasper and others, eds., *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, 11 vols., 3rd ed. (Freiburg i. B., 1993–2001).
LV	*Lumière et vie* (Bruges, 1951–60).
LWP	*Liturgical Week Proceedings, North American.*
LwQF	Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen (Münster i. W., 1919–2005).
LXX	Septuagint.
Mansi	J.D. Mansi, ed., *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio*, 31 vols. (Florence, 1759–98).
Mel	*Melto. Melta. Recherches orientales* (Kaslik, Liban, 1965–69).
Millgram	A.E. Millgram, *Jewish Worship* (Philadelphia, 1971).
MilS	*Milltown Studies* (Dublin, 1978ff.).
Mnem	*Mnemosyne: Bibliotheca classica Batava* (Leyden, 1852ff.).
MRR-1	J. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development (Missarum Sollemnia)*, trans. F.A. Brunner, 2 vols. (New York, 1951).
MRR-2	J. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development (Missarum Sollemnia)*, trans. F.A. Brunner, rev. C.K. Riepe (New York, 1959).
MS	*Mediaeval Studies* (Toronto, 1939ff.).
MSR	*Mélanges de science religieuse* (Lille, 1944ff.).
Mus	*Le Muséon* (Louvain, 1882–1916, 1921ff.).

NCE	*New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 14 vols. + index (New York, 1967) + 3 supplementary vols. 16–18 (1974–89).
NCES	*New Catholic Encyclopedia, Second Edition*, 15 vols. (Detroit/Washington, D.C., 2003).
NDSW	P.E. Fink, ed., *The New Dictionary of Sacramental Worship* (Collegeville, 1990).
Not	*Notitiae* (Rome, 1965ff.).
NRTh	*Nouvelle revue théologique* (Tournai, 1869–1913, 1920–39, 1945ff.).
NTes	Novum Testamentum (Leiden, 1956ff.).
NTS	New Testament Studies (London, 1954ff.).
NWDLW	J.G. Davies, ed., *The New Westminster Dictionary of Liturgy and Worship* (Philadelphia, 1986).
OC	Oriens Christianus (Wiesbaden, 1931–39, 1953ff.).
OCA	Orientalia Christiana Analecta (Rome, 1935ff.).
OCP	*Orientalia Christiana Periodica* (Rome, 1935ff.).
ODCC	F.L. Cross, *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 3rd ed., ed. E.A. Livingstone (New York, 1997).
Oesterley (1911)	W.O.E. Oesterley, *The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue*, 2nd ed. (London, 1911).
Oesterley (1925)	W.O.E. Oesterley, *The Jewish Background of the Christian Liturgy* (Oxford, 1925).
OLZ	*Orientalische Literaturzeitung* (Berlin, 1909ff.).
OrSyr	*L'Orient syrien* (Paris, 1956ff.).
OstkSt	*Ostkirchliche Studien* (Würzburg, 1952ff.).
ParL	*Paroisse et liturgie* (Bruges, 1946–74).
PB	*Pastor Bonus* (Trier, 1889–1943).
PEA (1894)	A.F. von Pauly, *Paulys Real-encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart, 1894–1919).
PEA (1991)	H. Cancik and H. Schneider, eds., *Der neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der Antike* (Stuttgart, 1991ff.).
PG	J.P. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, 162 vols. (Paris, 1857–66).
PhW	*Philologische Wockenschrift* (Leipzig, 1881–1940).
PL	J.P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, 221 vols. (Paris, 1844–64).
PLS	J.P. Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series Latina Supplementum*, ed. A. Hamman (Paris, 1958ff.).
PO	*Parole de l'Orient. Melto dmadnho* (Kaslik, Lebanon, 1970ff.).
PP	*Parole et pain* (Paris, 1964–73).
PrO	*Présence orthodox* (Paris, 1967–81).
PrOChr	*Proche-orient chrétien* (Jerusalem, 1951ff.).
QL	*Questions liturgiques* (Louvain, 1970ff.).
QLP	*Questions liturgiques et paroissiales* (Louvain, 1919–69).

Quasten	J. Quasten, *Patrology*, 4 vols. (Westminster, MD, 1962ff.). (Vol. 4, 1986, is a translation of vol. 3 of *Patrologia*, ed. A. di Berardino.)
RAC	*Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana* (Rome, 1924ff.).
RACh	*Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, ed. T. Klauser (Leipzig, 1950ff.).
RAM	*Revue d'ascétique et de mystique* (Toulouse, 1920–71).
RAp	*Revue pratique d'apologétique* (Paris, 1905–21).
RAug	*Recherches augustiniennes* (Paris, 1958ff.).
RB	*Revue bénédictine* (Maredsous, 1890ff.).
RBibl	*Revue biblique internationale* (Paris, 1891ff.; n.s. 1904ff.).
RBPh	*Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* (Brussels, 1922ff.).
RCF	*Revue du clergé francais* (Paris, 1894–1920).
RCT	*Revista catalana de teología* (Barcelona, 1976–88, 1990ff.).
RDC	*Revue de droit canonique* (Strasbourg, 1951ff.).
REAug	*Revue des études augustiniennes* (Paris, 1955ff.).
REF	*Revue d'histoire de l'Eglise de France* (Paris, 1910ff.).
REG	*Revue des études grecques* (Paris, 1888ff.).
REJ	*Revue des études juives* (Paris, 1880ff.).
REL	*Revue ecclésiastique de Liège* (Liège, 1905–67).
RELA	*Revue des études latines* (Paris, 1923ff.).
Res	*Résurrection* (Paris, 1956–63).
ResQ	*Restoration Quarterly* (Abilene, TX, 1957ff.).
RET	*Revista española de teología* (Madrid, 1940ff.).
RevAgusEsp	*Revista augustiniana de Espiritualidad* (Calahorra, Spain, 1960–79).
RevAug	*Revue augustinienne* (Louvain, 1901–10).
RevSR	*Revue des sciences religieuses* (Strasbourg, 1921ff.).
RHE	*Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* (Louvain, 1900ff.).
RHL	*Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuse* (Paris, 1896–1922).
RHPR	*Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses* (Strasbourg, 1921ff.).
RIT	*Revue internationale de théologie* (Berne, 1893–1910).
RivAM	*Rivista di Ascetica et Mistica* (Florence, 1956ff.).
RL	*Rivista Liturgica* (Turin, 1914ff.).
Rocz	*Rocznik theologico-kanoninczne* (Lublin, Poland, 1949–90).
RPLH	*Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes* (Paris, 1845–47; n.s. 1877–1926; 3. s. 1927ff.).
RQ	*Römische Quartelschrift für christliche Altertumskunde* (Freiburg i. B., 1887ff.).
RQH	*Revue des questions historiques* (Paris, 1866–1939).
RR	*Revue réformé* (Saint-Germaine-en-Laye, France, 1950ff.).
RRel	*Review for Religious* (St. Louis, 1942ff.).

RSPT	*Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* (Paris, 1907ff.).
RSR	*Recherches de science religieuse* (Paris, 1910ff.).
RT	*Revue thomiste* (Paris, 1924–65).
RTAM	*Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* (Louvain, 1969ff.).
RTL	*Revue théologique de Louvain* (Louvain, 1970ff.).
RTP	*Revue de théologie et de philosophie* (Lausanne, 1921ff.).
RUO	*La revue de l'Université d'Ottawa* (Ottawa, 1931–87).
Sal	*Salesianum* (Turin, 1939ff.).
SC	*Scuola Cattolica* (Milan, 1902ff.).
SCA	Studies in Christian Antiquity (Washington, D.C., 1941–85).
ScE	*Science et esprit* (Montreal, 1928ff.).
SChr	Sources chrétiennes (Paris, 1941ff.).
SCJ	*Second Century: Journal of Early Christian Studies* (Abilene, TX, 1981–92).
Scr	*Scripture* (London, 1969–75).
SE	*Sacris Erudiri* (Bruges, 1948ff.).
SJT	*Scottish Journal of Theology* (Edinburgh, etc., 1948ff.).
SM	*Studia Monastica* (Barcelona, 1959ff.).
SP	*Studia Patristica: Acts of the International Conventions of Oxford* (TU) (Berlin, 1957ff.).
SPMed	Studia Patristica Mediolanensia (Milan, 1974ff.).
ST	*Studi e Testi* (Rome, 1900ff.).
StC	*Studia Catholica* (Nijmegen, 1924–60).
Steidle	B. Steidle, *Patrologia: seu Historia Antiquae Litteraturae Ecclesiasticae, Scholarum Usui Accommodata* (Freiburg i. B., 1937).
StGKA	Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums (Paderborn, 1907ff.).
STh	*Studia Theologica* (Lund, 1947ff.).
StLit	C. Jones and others, eds., *The Study of Liturgy*, rev. ed. (New York, 1992).
StP	*Studia Patavina* (Padua, 1954ff.).
Strack	H.L. Strack and P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, vol. iv/i, 2nd ed. (Munich, 1956).
StudEnc	*Study Encounter* (Geneva, 1965–76).
StudLit	*Studia Liturgica* (Rotterdam, 1962ff.).
TD	*Theology Digest* (St. Louis, 1953ff.).
Theol	*Theology* (Norwich, England, 1976ff.).
ThGl	*Theologie und Glaube* (Paderborn, 1909ff.).
ThQ	*Theologische Quartalschrift* (Stuttgart/Tübingen, 1831–1928; various places, 1929ff.).
ThStKr	*Theologische Studien und Kritiken* (Gotha, 1828–42).
Tixeront	J. Tixeront, *A Handbook of Patrology*, trans. S.A. Raemers (London/St. Louis, 1947).

Tra	*Traditio: Studies in Ancient and Medieval History, Thought, and Religion* (New York, 1943ff.).
TRE	G. Krause and G. Müller, eds., *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* (Berlin, 1976ff.).
TS	*Theological Studies* (Baltimore/Woodstock, 1940ff.).
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte de altchristlichen Literatur (Berlin, 1882ff.).
TV	*Theologia Viatorum: Jahrbuch der kirchlichen Hochschule Berlin* (Berlin, 1948/49–1979/80).
TZ	*Theologische Zeitschrift* (Basel, 1945ff.).
VC	*Vigiliae Christianae* (Amsterdam, 1947ff.).
VerC	*Verbum Caro* (Taizé, France, 1947–69).
VetChr	*Vetera Christianorum* (Bari, 1964ff.).
VS	*La Vie Spirituelle* (Paris, 1919ff.).
WEC	L. Johnson, ed., *Worship in the Early Church: An Anthology of Historical Sources*, 4 vols. (Collegeville, 2009).
Werner	E. Werner, *The Sacred Bridge: The Interdependence of Liturgy and Music in Synagogue and Church during the First Millennium* (London/New York, 1959).
Wor	*Worship* (Collegeville, 1952ff.; formerly *Orate Fratres*, 1926–51).
Wright (1928)	F.A. Wright, ed., *Fathers of the Church: Tertullian, Cyprian, Arnobius, Lactanius, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine: A Selection from the Writings of the Latin Fathers* (London, 1928).
Wright (1932)	F.A. Wright, *A History of Later Greek Literature from the Death of Alexander in 323 B.C. to the Death of Justinian in 545 A.D.* (London, 1932).
WSt	*Wiener Studien: Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie* (Vienna, 1879ff.).
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* (Berlin/New York, 1881ff.).
ZKG	*Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* (Gotha, 1877–1930; Stuttgart, 1931ff.).
ZkTh	*Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* (Innsbruck, 1877–1940; Vienna, 1947ff.).
ZNeW	*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* (Giessen/Berlin/New York, 1900ff.).
ZNW	*Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft* (Münster, 1911–37).
ZTK	*Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* (Tübingen, 1891ff.).
/	= "or," e.g., 543/554
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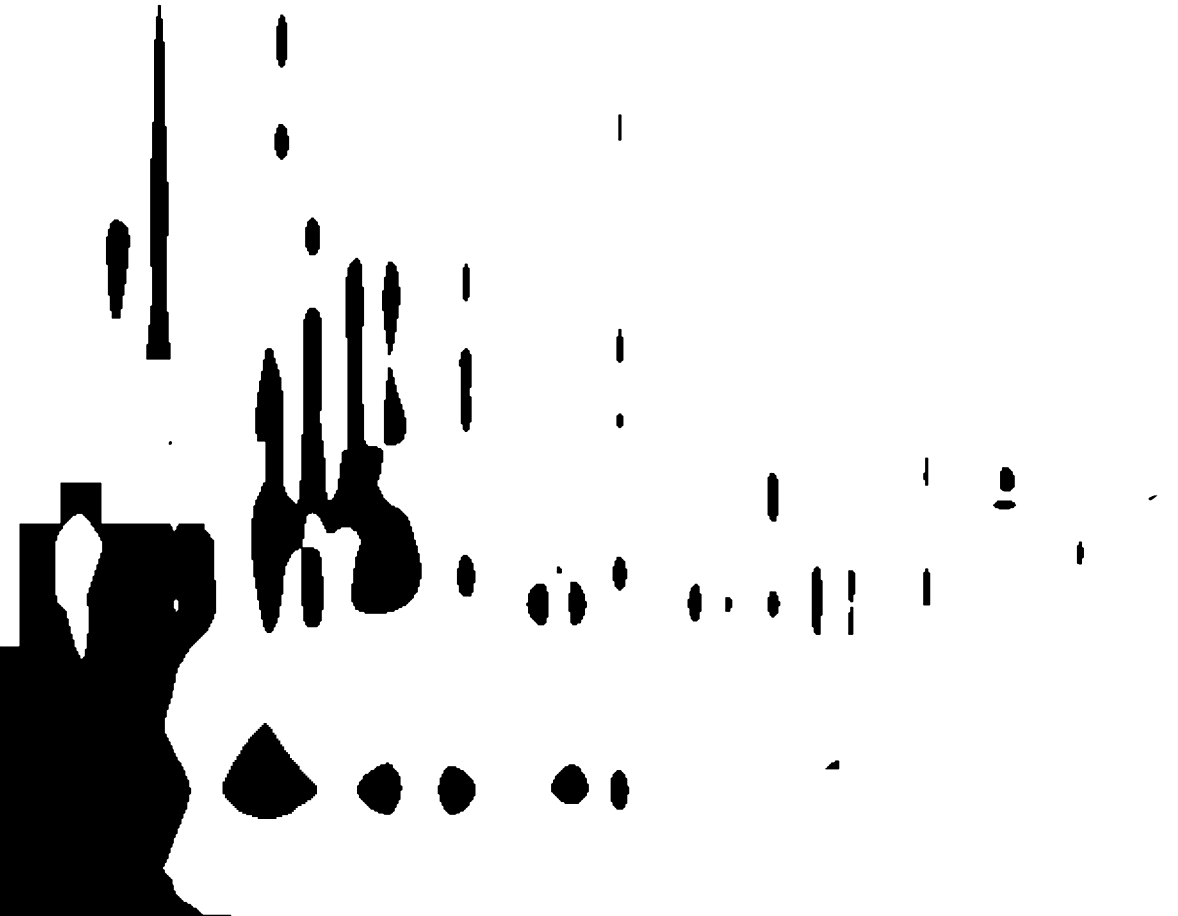

Introduction

Recent decades have witnessed numerous Christian denominations reforming and renewing their communal worship structures. Well before such a venture occurred, there took place, mainly though not exclusively in Europe, a scientific study of the early development of the Church's common prayer, a study that continues today. Both professional and amateur historians have applied and are applying their expertise to this important task, for understanding the past is not merely an intellectual exercise but offers one of the all-important keys for understanding the present.

Yet many students of worship have but little direct contact with the great literary heritage that witnesses the way Christians lived their liturgical life during the early ages of Christianity. Often a person's acquaintance with the primitive Church's written documentation is only by way of citations in end- or footnotes. Frequently access to the excellent English language collections of early source material is limited, since these are for the most part found only in the libraries of theological schools and major universities. The same is true of texts related to particular subjects, e.g., initiation. Furthermore, a large amount of pertinent material has simply not appeared in English. Texts in Latin, Greek, and other languages—apart from their inherent problems for many students of the liturgy—are no less difficult to obtain.

The four volumes of the present series aim to present a selection or thesaurus (representative, to be sure) of a wide selection of source material illustrating the growth of the Church's common prayer, in both East and West, from its Jewish roots down to the end of the sixth century. Included are texts from homilies, dogmatic and spiritual treatises, letters, monastic rules, church orders, prayer formulas, conciliar and synodal legislation, inscriptions, and the like. The subject matter is not only sacramental celebration but also the liturgical year, the times of the day for personal or group prayer, music and song, the physical arrangement of the church building, times for fasting (considered to be so closely allied with prayer), veneration of the martyrs, liturgical roles, decorum within and without the church, etc.

The user of these volumes fortunate enough to have access to a major theological library may well profit from the references to patristic and other manuals, as well as from the bibliography of pertinent periodical articles and treatises.

In a few cases the most recent edition of a text was, for various reasons, unavailable to me. Also, several texts initially intended to appear in

this work are in fact not included since a particular volume could not be obtained.

It should be noted that, unless otherwise indicated, the enumeration of the psalms follows the Hebrew.

All cited texts have been translated by the present editor from the source indicated ("Translated from . . .") or are taken from a preexisting translation ("Translation from . . .").

A note on format

Each subhead (author, anonymous document, synods, etc.) is assigned an identification number, which is usually followed by a letter indicating a particular work of an author or a particular synod.

The internal enumeration of paragraphs usually corresponds to that of the edition from which the text was translated. Marginal numbers, running sequentially, are assigned to paragraphs of the text.

Cross-references are indicated by the abbreviation for *Worship in the Early Church*, i.e., WEC, followed by the volume number and then either the subhead number in bold text (e.g., WEC 3:**102** or WEC 3:**115-C**) or else the marginal paragraph number (e.g., WEC 3:2749).

There are three types of footnotes: daggers, letters, and numbers. Daggered notes indicate the sources from which translations have been made, lettered notes contain explanations for words and phrases used in the text, and numbered notes indicate scriptural references.

* * *

No work of this kind can reach completion without the encouragement and assistance of many people. And thus I must express my gratitude to Mr. Peter Kearney for sharing his expertise in Latin and Hebrew. To the Rev. James Challancin, a priest of the diocese of Marquette, Michigan, and a former professor of liturgy, for his many words of encouragement. To the staff (especially Jessica) of the Escanaba, Michigan, Public Library for such gracious assistance in procuring by means of interlibrary loans ever so many volumes from libraries throughout the country. To the whole publishing team at Liturgical Press and especially to Stephanie Lancour, my copy editor, whose careful reading of the text has saved me from any number of embarrassing moments. And especially to my wife, Marlene Winter-Johnson, not only for her patience throughout this endeavor but especially for the numerous hours in researching materials found in the library of The Catholic University of America and in that of the University of Notre Dame, as well as for helping to prepare the work's manuscript for publication.

Chapter IX

Fifth Century. West

AFRICA

97. ALYPIUS OF THEGASTE. *ORDO MONASTERII*†

The *Ordo Monasterii*, which greatly influenced later monastic rules, is generally attributed to Alypius (d. ca. 430?), bishop of Thegaste in North Africa and a long-standing and good friend of Augustine (WEC 3:98).

CPL no. 1839c * Bautz 1:136 * CATH 1:386 * CE 1:374 * DHGE 2:902–4 * DPAC 1:139–40 * EC 1:888–89 * EEC 1:27 * NCE 1:317–18

2. We describe how we should pray or render the psalms: namely, at 249
Matins three psalms are said: Psalms 62, 5, and 89.

At Terce first there is a responsorial psalm, then two antiphons,[a] a read- 249
ing, and a conclusion; the same is true for Sext and None; at the *lucernarium* there is one responsorial psalm, four antiphons, again a responsorial psalm, a reading, and a conclusion.

At a fitting time after the *lucernarium*, when all are seated, the lessons 250
are read; afterwards there are the customary prayers before sleep. Regarding the prayers during the night: during November, December, January, and February there are twelve antiphons, six psalms, and three readings; during March, April, September, and October there are ten antiphons, five psalms, three readings; during May, June, July, and August there are eight antiphons, four psalms, and two readings.

98. AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO

Born on November 13, 354, in Thagaste in Numidia (modern-day Annaba in Algeria), Augustine was the son of Patricius, a town official, and Monica. Patricius, a pagan for most of his life, was baptized on his deathbed in 371. On the other hand, Monica, the daughter of a Christian family, was a devout and pious believer who enrolled her son as a catechumen when he was still an infant.

† Translated from L. Verheijen, *La Règle de s. Augustin*, Etudes Augustiniennes, vol. 1 (Paris, 1967) 148–49. The psalm numbers are those of the LXX.

a. The Latin *antiphonae* here and throughout probably means "antiphonal psalmody." See R. Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West* (Collegeville, 1986) 94–95.

Although considered African by race and birth, Augustine was Roman in culture, language, and spirit. He studied rhetoric, the Latin language, and Latin literature; additionally he had a fair acquaintance with Greek. As a teen he fell away from the faith, became a follower (though not totally convinced) of Manichaeism, and eventually became a skeptic. At the age of seventeen (in 371) when he went to Carthage to continue his education, Augustine took a concubine (concubinage, although recognized by the State, was not permitted by the Church), with whom he lived for fifteen years till 386. A son, Adeodatus, was born in 372 and in 389/390 he preceded his father in death. Finishing his studies, Augustine pursued a career as a teacher of rhetoric at Carthage, Rome, and Milan.

While teaching in Milan Augustine came into contact with Ambrose, the bishop of that city (WEC 2:53). Initially it was the style of Ambrose's homilies rather than their content that attracted Augustine. In July 386, in a garden in Milan, Augustine appears to have undergone a conversion experience. From October 386 to March 387 he resided at a villa in Cassiciacum near Milan; here he and his companions devoted themselves to meditation, prayer, and study. Together with Adeodatus, Augustine was instructed by Ambrose and then baptized by him during the Easter Vigil in 387. Shortly thereafter Monica, accompanying her son back to Africa, died suddenly at Ostia, where her remains rested till 1430 when they were transferred to the Church of Saint Augustine in Rome.

After a short stay in Rome, where he became interested in following the monastic life, in late 388 Augustine returned to Africa and settled in Thagaste, leading an ascetic life in common with several of his friends on one of his estates. Three years later, in 391, and during a visit to Hippo Regius, Augustine reluctantly agreed to be ordained a presbyter, doing so at the urging of the elderly bishop Valerius and the pleading of the people. In 395 he was ordained Valerius's cobishop, shortly afterwards succeeding him as the sole bishop of Hippo. Augustine himself died on August 28, 430, a time when the Vandals were besieging the city. In the eighth century his relics were transferred to the Church of Saint Peter in Pavia, a town south of Milan.

Augustine, like many bishops of his day, participated in numerous church meetings, for example, the Synod of Hippo in 393 (WEC 2:50-C), presided over certain lawsuits, preached several times a week, visited the sick, and took great interest in caring for the poor. He continued his style of monastic living and encouraged other men and women to do likewise. He lived, we are told, a life of the utmost poverty and simplicity. Yet it is Augustine's literary works that have earned him the reputation as being, if not the greatest, certainly one of the greatest theological thinkers and scholars of the Church, both in terms of the depth of his reflection as well as in the vast number of his writings. Augustine himself informs us that up to 427 he had written 93 literary works and 232 individual books, this not including his numerous homilies and letters. The corpus of his writing includes treatises on the nature of God, spirituality, ecclesiology,

mysticism, Scripture, morality, philosophy, psychology, music, and autobiography. He wrote not only against Christianity's pagan critics but also against the various heresies and heretical movements of the time, e.g., against the Donatists in regard to the validity of the sacraments, in particular, baptism; and against the Pelagians, who denied the existence of original sin and consequently the absolute necessity of infant baptism.

Ranked among the Doctors of the Church, Augustine is more specifically known as the *Doctor Communis*, being considered as the most commonly followed teacher in the Western Church.

CPL nos. 250ff. * Altaner (1961) 487–534 * Altaner (1966) 412–49 * Bardenhewer (1908) 473–508 * Bardenhewer (1910) 410–38 * Bardenhewer (1913) 4:434–522 * Bardy (1930) 130–45 * Bautz 1:272–300 * Hamell 145–58 * Jurgens 3:1–178 * Labriolle (1947) 2:577–641 * Labriolle (1968) 391–422 * Leigh-Bennett 304–35 * Quasten 4:342–462 * Steidle 167–83 * Tixeront 259–69 * Wright (1928) 269–347 * CATH 1:1027–35 * CE 2:84–104; 2:79 (Rule) * CHECL 328–41 * DCB 1:216–28 * DDC 1:1412–16 * DHGE 5:440–73 * DictSp 1:1101–30 * DPAC 1:91–104 * DTC 1:2268–2472 * EC 1:519–67 * EEC 1:97–101 * EEChr 1:148–54 * LTK 1:1240–45 * NCE 1:1041–58 * NCES 1:850–68 * ODCC 128–31 * PEA (1894) 2.2:2363–67 * PEA (1991) 2:293–301 * RACh 1:981–93 * TRE 4:645–99

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98-A. On the Lord's Sermon on the Mount†

This work, written in two books, dates from early in Augustine's life as a priest. It treats not only the Beatitudes and the Lord's Prayer but also other sayings of Jesus.

† Translated from *De sermone Domini in monte*, ed. A. Mutzenbecher, CCL 35 (Turnhout, 1967) 108, 115–16.

2501 II.v.18. [. . .] When we stand for prayer, we turn toward the east from which heaven rises. It is not as if God, having deserted other regions of the world, dwells there, for God is present everywhere, not physically but in the power of the divine majesty. We turn toward the east so that the soul may be reminded to turn toward a more excellent nature, namely, to God. [. . .]

2502 II.vii.26. [. . .] Although this bread is called daily bread, there are many in various parts of the East who do not share each day in the Lord's Supper. They are silent, not defending their way of thinking about this matter, not even by ecclesiastical authority. There is no scandal here. They are not forbidden from acting in this way by those governing the churches, nor are they condemned as being disobedient. And so it is proven that in those areas the sacramental bread is not understood as "daily bread." Otherwise, those who do not receive [the Eucharist] daily would be censured with a serious sin. But, as was said, may we not discuss the matter from such a case. Rather, we should certainly consider this: from the Lord we have received the law of prayer, and it is not right to transgress this law either by adding or by omitting anything. Therefore would anyone dare to maintain that we should pray the Lord's Prayer only once? Or who would hold that even if we say the prayer two or three times before the hour when we receive the Lord's Body, we should not pray it through the remainder of the day? For we will no longer be able to say "give us this day" in regard to what we have already received. Or will we be forced to celebrate that sacrament also at the last hour of the day?

2503 II.vii.27. It remains that "daily bread" is to be understood as "spiritual bread." [. . .] If anyone desires to understand these words ["Give us this day our daily bread"] as also referring to the food that is necessary for the human body or as referring to the sacrament of the Lord's Body, then all three meanings should be received conjointly: namely, that we petition for the daily bread that nourishes the body; we also petition for the visible consecrated Bread as well as for the invisible bread of God's word.

98-B. Eighty-Three Diverse Questions†

Between 388 and 396 Augustine responded to various questions, philosophical as well as dogmatic and exegetical, that were put to him by his friends. After becoming a bishop, he had these numbered and compiled into this tract.

2504 LXXXI.2. [. . .] At present we groan and lament, looking forward to the redemption of our body[1] which is celebrated during *Quadragesima*.[a]

† Translated from *De diversis quaestionibus octoginta tribus. De octo Dulcitii quaestionibus*, ed. A. Mutzenbecher, CCL 44 A (Turnhout, 1975) 241–42.

a. The traditional designation ("the fortieth day") for the season of Lent.

1. See Rom 8:23.

However, "we know that when it is revealed, we will be like him since we will see him as he is,"[2] when ten is added to forty so that we might merit not only to believe what pertains to faith but also to understand the clarity of truth. Such a Church, in which there will be no mourning, no mixing in of those who are evil, no iniquity, but gladness and peace and joy, is prefigured by the celebration of *Quinquagesima.*[b] Therefore after our Lord rose from the dead and spent forty days with his disciples—this number introducing the plan of salvation in a time that pertains to faith—he ascended into heaven[3] and after ten days sent the Holy Spirit.[4] Ten is added to forty so that we might not look upon human and temporal realities but upon those that are divine and eternal, doing so by a certain breathing forth [*spiramento*] and glow of love and affection. Therefore the whole, that is, the fifty days, is marked by the celebration of joy.

98-C. Against Faustus the Manichaean[†]

Containing thirty-three books and written about 400 or somewhat earlier, this work refutes Faustus of Milevis, one of the great Manichaean teachers of Augustine's time. The bishop of Hippo defends not only Christianity but also Judaism against the attacks of Faustus.

XX.xxi. [. . .] It is by means of a religious solemnity that Christians honor the memory of the martyrs, doing so that we may be inspired to imitate them as well as to be assisted by their merits and prayers. It is not to any of the martyrs that we build altars but to the God of the martyrs. For no one presiding in places where the bodies of the saints are located, no one standing at the altar has ever said, "Peter, Paul, or Cyprian, we offer to you." Rather, the offering is made to God who crowned the martyrs. From the instructions given in these shrines arises a greater feeling for love, love for those whom we can imitate, and love for him who can help us do so. Therefore we cherish the martyrs with the same loving affinity with which we cherish God's holy ones in this life, those whose hearts we know are ready to endure the same suffering for the sake of the Gospel. Yet we love the martyrs even more since we know that their struggle has ended; it is with greater assurance that we praise those who are victorious as compared to our praise of those who are still struggling here below. 2505

To God alone do we give that service which is called by the Greeks *latria* and has no one word in Latin. One God alone do we worship: this is what we practice and teach. The offering of sacrifice is part of divine worship. Consequently the word idolatry is applied to those who offer 2506

b. The traditional designation ("the fiftieth day") for the season of Pentecost.

2. 1 John 3:2. 3. See Acts 1:1–9. 4. See Acts 2:1–4.

† Translated from *Sancti Aureli Augustini De utilitate credendi . . . Contra Faustum,* ed. J. Zycha, CSEL 25.1 (Vienna, 1891) 562–64.

to idols. In no way do we offer or command that offerings be made to any martyr, to any holy soul, or to any angel. Those who fall into such an error are rebuked by sound teaching, being either corrected or warned. Those who are holy, whether they be humans or angels, do not wish to be honored by what they acknowledge belongs to God alone. We see this when the citizens of Lycaonia, on account of the miracles performed by Paul and Barnabas, wanted to sacrifice to them as if they were gods. Renting their garments, Paul and Barnabas directed the people not to do this as they told and persuaded them that they were not divine.[1] We also find the same among the angels when we read in the Book of Revelation that the angel would not allow himself to be adored, saying to the one who would worship him, "I am a fellow servant of yours and of your brothers."[2] The devil and his angels, claiming this adoration, clearly are proud spirits, as can be seen in all the temples and sacred things of the Gentiles. Certain proud people are similar to them, as some Babylonian kings were said to be. Thus holy David endured accusations and persecution when the king decreed that nothing was to be sought from any god—but only from the king himself. Daniel was seen adoring and petitioning his God, namely, the one true God.[3] As to those who drink to excess at the memorials of the martyrs, how can we approve this practice since sound doctrine condemns it even if they do this in their homes? [. . .] To sacrifice to the martyrs, even if we be fasting, is worse than returning home drunk after their feasts. I said "to sacrifice to the martyrs" and not "to sacrifice to God in memory of the martyrs," which we do most frequently, at least in the manner commanded since the revelation of the New Testament, for this pertains to the worship or *latria* due to God alone. [. . .] Previous to Christ's coming the flesh and blood of this sacrifice were prefigured in the animals slain; in Christ's passion the figure is made true; after Christ's ascension we make memory of Christ in the sacrament. [. . .]

98-D. Questions on the Gospels†

Containing two books, this tract explains certain passages from the Gospels of Matthew and Luke.

2507 II.XL.3. Hardly any of the faithful doubt that what is prefigured here [the Jewish priesthood] is the future royal priesthood which is in the Church; it is to this that all who form the body of Christ, who is truly the greatest high priest, are consecrated. At the present time all are anointed; at that time only kings and prophets were anointed. This is what Peter had in mind when he wrote to the Christian people that they were "a royal

1. See Acts 14:13–18. 2. See Rev 19:10; 22:8ff. 3. See Dan 6.

† Translated from *Quaestiones evangeliorum*, ed. A. Mutzenbecher, CCL 44 B (Turnhout, 1980) 98–99.

priesthood."[1] He declared that this designation befits the people to whom the anointing belongs. [. . .]

98-E. Confessions†

Long acknowledged as one of Christianity's outstanding classics, the *Confessions* was written ca. 397–400. The work, addressed to God, is not only autobiography but also, more important, prayer, especially prayer of praise.

I.XI.17. While still a boy I heard about the eternal life promised us 2508
through the humility of the Lord our God who descended on account of our pride. I was already marked with the sign of the cross and seasoned with his salt from my mother's womb, my mother who greatly trusted in you. You saw me, O Lord, when as a boy I was one day suddenly afflicted with stomach pains and felt that I would soon die. O God, because you already were my protector, you saw with what emotion and faith I entreated from my pious mother and from your Church, which is the mother of us all, the baptism of your Christ, my Lord and my God. My bodily mother was distraught, for with a heart pure in your faith she placed more value in giving birth to my eternal salvation. She was already concerned about speeding up the time for the life-giving sacraments when I would be initiated and washed, confessing you, Lord Jesus, for the remission of sins. However, I immediately recovered. And so my cleansing was postponed as if—continuing to live—I would necessarily continue to sin since after that washing the filth of sin would surely be greater and more dangerous. At that time I together with my mother and the whole household were believers, but not my father who did not overcome in me the influence of my mother's piety so that I would follow him in not believing in Christ. My mother took every care that you, my God, would be a Father to me rather than he. In this you helped her prevail over her husband to whom, although she was the better of the two, she was obedient. By so doing she obeyed you who commanded this.

I.XI.18. My God, I ask you, I wish to know, if you so desire, why my 2509
baptism was at that time delayed? Was it for my benefit that the reins were, shall we say, given slack so that I could sin? Or were they not given slack? If not, why do we hear on all sides, "Let him be; let him do what he wants, for he is not yet baptized"? Yet in regard to bodily health we do not say, "Allow him to be wounded still more since he has not yet recovered." Therefore, how better it would be if I had been cured immediately and if it had been done by my own attentiveness and by that of my friends so that the restored health of my soul would be safe under your protection. [. . .]

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1. 1 Pet 2:9.

† Translated from *Sancti Aureli Augustini Confessionum Libri Tredecim*, ed. P. Knoll, CSEL 33 (Vienna, 1896) 15ff.

2510 V.IX.17. [. . .] Most merciful God, could you despise the contrite and humble heart[1] of [Monica], that pure and prudent widow who frequently bestowed alms, who was so obedient and attentive to your saints, who let no day pass without bringing an offering to your altar, who twice each day—morning and evening—always went to church, not for vain chattering or for listening to old wives' tales but to hear your sermons and so that you might hear her prayers? [. . .]

2511 IX.VII.15. Not long ago the church at Milan began to observe this type of consolation and encouragement, with its members singing together with great zeal in voice and heart. Truly it was a year ago—not much longer—when Justina, the mother of Valentinian the boy emperor, persecuted your servant Ambrose[a] to benefit the heresy into which she had been seduced by the Arians. The devoted people kept vigil in the church where they were prepared to die with their bishop, your servant. It was there, in church, that my mother, your servant, leading the way with such care and keeping vigil, lived in prayer. But we, still unaffected by the warmth of your Spirit, were nonetheless moved by the terrified and disturbed city. At that time began the practice of singing hymns and psalms according to the custom of eastern lands so that the people, wearied with grief, might not faint away. This practice has been retained up to the present in many, in almost all, of your churches throughout the rest of the world.

2512 IX.VII.16. Then through a vision you revealed to your renowned bishop the resting place of the bodies of your martyrs Protasius and Gervasius.[b] For many years you kept them incorrupt in your secret storehouse, at the appropriate time producing them to hold in check the royal lady's [Justina's] fury. For when these bodies were discovered and exhumed, they were with honor transferred to the Ambrosian basilica. [. . .]

2513 IX.XII.29. I closed her [Monica's] eyes and a great sadness overtook my heart. It resulted in tears, which we suppressed, my eyes made dry through a strong inner discipline. Sorrow struggled within me. As soon as she breathed her last, the boy Adeodatus[c] began to wail. [. . .]

2514 IX.XII.31. Once the boy was restrained from weeping, Evodius[d] picked up the Psalter and began to sing a psalm; the whole household responded "I will sing of mercy and justice to you, O Lord."[2] [. . .]

2515 IX.XII.32. When her body was taken out, we both left and afterwards returned without tears. I did not weep during the prayers that we poured forth to you when the sacrifice of our redemption was offered for her—her body being placed next to the grave before being placed therein as is

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a. WEC 2:53.

b. Gervasius and Protasius: the proto-martyrs of Milan, who, according to later tradition, were martyred in the latter half of the second century.

c. Augustine's son.

d. Evodius: a close friend of Augustine and later bishop of Uzalis.

1. See Ps 51:19. 2. Ps 101:1.

the custom there—during these prayers I did not weep. Yet throughout the whole day I was secretly in great sorrow, and with a troubled mind I asked you, as I was able, to heal my sorrow. Yet you did not do this. [. . .] As I lay alone upon my bed, I recalled the prophetic words of Ambrose: for you are the "God who all things did create [. . .]."[e]

X.xxxiii.49. The delights of the ear had more firmly entangled and overcome me, but you untangled and freed me. I must confess that I do find a certain amount of comfort in those melodies given life by your words provided they are sung by a sweet and skillful voice; not that I hang on to them, yet being able to disengage myself from them when I so desire. However, these melodies touch me through the words which are their life and which seek in my heart a place of proper dignity; yet hardly do I provide them a fitting one. At times I seem to honor the melodies more than is becoming when I see that our minds are more religiously and fervently moved by the holy words themselves when these words are sung rather than when they are not sung; when I see that all the diverse emotions of our spirit have their own proper measures in voice and song to which they are roused by some secret relationship of which I know nothing. Such delights of my flesh—to which a weakened soul should never be surrendered—often deceive me, whereas bodily feeling does not wait for reason in order to patiently follow it; but once having gained entry this feeling tries to run on before reason and so to lead it. And so in these matters I sin unknowingly; it is only afterwards that I realize I am sinning in this way. 2516

X.xxxiii.50. There are times when I most carefully guard against this very deception. I err out of excessive severity. At times I even wish that the melodies of the sweet-sounding songs often used by David's Psalter be banished from my ears and from those of the Church. What, as I recall, was often related to me about Athanasius,[f] the bishop of Alexandria, seems better, for he had the reader of the psalm slightly inflect the voice so that the reader was more speaking than singing the text. 2517

Nonetheless, when I recall the tears I shed at the songs of the Church during the early days of my recovered faith, and how I am even now moved not by the singing but by what is sung—when it is rendered with a clear and skillfully modulated voice—then I acknowledge the great usefulness of this practice. So it is that I waver between dangerous pleasure and the experience of wholesomeness; and although I do not wish to utter any irrevocable opinion on this matter, I am inclined to approve the custom of singing in church so that through the delights of the ear weaker minds may rise up to a feeling of devotion. Yet when it happens that I am moved more by the singing than by what is sung, I confess that I sin like a lawbreaker, and then I would rather not hear the singing. Look at my condition! Cry with me, cry for me. [. . .] 2518

e. See WEC 2:53-T-2.

f. Athanasius: anti-Arian bishop 328–73 of Alexandria (WEC 2:90).

98-F. On Baptism: Against the Donatists†

This work, containing seven books, was written about 400. In it Augustine shows that all baptisms are valid, even those performed by heretics; nonetheless such rites when celebrated by those outside the Catholic Church are not effective unto salvation. The Donatists, however, who appealed to the authority of Cyprian (WEC 1:27), rebaptized Catholics entering their ranks.

2519 I.1.1. In the book we wrote against Parmenian's[a] letter to Tichonius,[b] we promised to treat the question of baptism in more detail. But even if such a promise had not been made, we recall and acknowledge that this is something we owe to the requests of our brethren. And so in this treatise we undertake, with God's help, not only to disprove the objection customarily made by the Donatists against us on this subject but also, as the Lord will allow us, to promote the authority of the most blessed martyr Cyprian. This authority they try to use as a support so that their perversity may not fall under the attacks of truth. We do so in order that those whose judgment has not been blinded by a sectarian spirit may understand that they are not aided by Cyprian's authority. Rather, through it they are convicted and refuted.

2520 I.1.2. In the above-mentioned work we stated that baptism can be given outside the Catholic communion just as it can be withheld there. No Donatist denies that even apostates have baptism; certainly when apostates return and are converted through penance, they are not baptized a second time; the judgment has been made that they did not forfeit baptism. The same is true for those who through the sacrilege of schism have departed from the communion of the Church; certainly they retain the baptism they accepted previous to their departure. Should they return, they are not again baptized; so it is shown that what they received when they were united to the Church, they do not lose when separated from it. If baptism can be retained without, why can it not also be given without? Should you say that "it is not efficaciously given without," we respond, "Just as it is not rightly retained without, and yet is somehow retained, so it is not legitimately given without, but is somehow given." When a person is reconciled to unity, then what was possessed to no profit outside unity begins to be possessed to profit within unity; and by the same reconciliation what was unprofitably given outside unity is profitably given within unity. Yet it cannot be said that what was not given was indeed given, or that anyone should be reproached for not having given this while confessing that he gave what he himself has received. Whoever is baptized has the sacrament of baptism; whoever is ordained can sacramentally confer baptism. Just as

† Translated from *Sancti Aureli Augustini Scripta contra Donatistas*, vol. 1, ed. M. Petschenig, CSEL 51 (Vienna, 1908) 145ff.

a. Parmenian: Donatist bishop 362–91/92 of Carthage.

b. Tichonius: ca. 330–ca. 390, lay exegete in Carthage.

a baptized person, upon leaving the unity of the Church, does not lose the sacrament of baptism, so also the ordained, upon leaving the unity of the Church, does not lose the sacrament of conferring baptism. Harm is to be done to neither sacrament. If one sacrament is ineffective among those who are evil, then both are; if one sacrament remains operative among those who are evil, then both are. Therefore, if we accept the baptism which a person who has left the unity of the Church cannot lose, so also must we accept the baptism conferred by a person who did not lose the sacrament of giving it when he or she departed from the Church. For just as those returning who were baptized prior to their departure from the Church are not again baptized, so those returning who were ordained before they left are certainly not ordained again. Either they minister as they formerly did if the needs of the Church require this, or if they do not minister, they bear the sacrament of their ordination and thus when the hand is imposed [for reconciliation], they are not considered as ranked among the laity. For when Felician[c] together with Maximian[d] disassociated themselves from them [the Donatists], they lost neither the sacrament of baptism nor the sacrament of conferring baptism. For now they consider Felician as one of themselves together with those he baptized when he was outside the Church in the schism of Maximian. And so others could receive from them, while they still had not yet joined our society, what they had not lost by departing from our society. Clearly they act wickedly who try to rebaptize those who are in Catholic unity. So we act rightly in not daring to reject God's sacraments even when conferred by schismatics. [. . .]

98-G. Rudimentary Catechesis[†]

Written about 400, this tract is a guide for instructing the catechumens.

IX.13. [. . .] You should also understand that the only voice heard by 2521
God is the devotion of the soul. And so one will not engage in mockery upon hearing the Church's ministers praying to God in a language replete with barbarisms and grammatical blunders or when these ministers, lacking any proper understanding of what they are reading, pause in the wrong places. I do not mean, of course, that such deficiencies should be committed so that the people may not be able to utter "Amen" to what they should clearly understand. [. . .] As to the sacrament they are about to receive, it is sufficient that the more educated simply hear what the thing signifies. The less educated should receive a more explicit explanation, one using comparisons. This will prevent them from showing disrespect toward what they see.

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c. Felician: Donatist bishop of Musti in northern Africa.

d. Maximian: Donatist bishop 393–?

† Translated from *De fide rerum invisibilium . . . De catechizandis rudibus . . .*, ed. M.P.J. van den Hout, CCL 46 (Turnhout, 1969) 135–36, 158–59, 173.

2522 xx.34. The people, therefore, were led down into Egypt where they were slaves of the most cruel king.[1] Their burdensome labor led them to seek God as their liberator. Sent to the people was one of their own, namely, Moses, God's holy servant.[2] Assisted by divine power Moses by means of wonderful miracles struck fear into the impious Egyptians and led God's people through the Red Sea.[3] The waters parted and offered a path for those who were passing through. When the waters returned to normal, those pursuing were overwhelmed and perished. Just as the earth when flooded was cleansed of the evil of the sinners who at that time were destroyed in the flood, and just as the righteous escaped by means of wood, so God's people, coming out of Egypt, found a way through the waters that destroyed their enemies. Nor was the sacrament of the wood lacking there, for Moses struck with his rod in order to produce a miracle. Both [the flood and the passage through the Sea] are signs of holy baptism through which the faithful pass to new life, their sins being washed away and destroyed like enemies. More clearly is Christ's passion prefigured in that people when they were commanded to slay and eat the lamb, to mark the doorpost with its blood, and to celebrate this every year and call it the Lord's Pasch.[4] Surely prophecy is most clear when it says, "He was led like a lamb to slaughter."[5] Today you, like the doorposts, are marked on the forehead with the sign of his passion and cross, as all Christians are thus marked.

98-H. Against the Letters of Petilian the Donatist†

About 400 Petilian, a Donatist bishop in Cirta, circulated a letter attacking Catholic doctrine. Soon after, Augustine wrote three letters in reply.

2523 II.xxxv.82. [. . .] When you clearly see that neither the person who baptized nor the person who was baptized had a clear conscience, is it your judgment that baptism should be repeated? Surely you neither say nor do any such thing. Therefore the purity of baptism is completely distinct from the purity or innocence of the one baptizing or the one being baptized. [. . .]

98-I. On the Forgiveness and the Just Deserts of Sins, and the Baptism of Infants††

Written sometime after 411, the three books composing this work were directed against Pelagianism, which denied the existence of original sin and consequently the necessity of infant baptism.

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1. See Exod 1:8ff. 2. See Exod 7:1ff. 3. See Exod 14:18ff. 4. See Exod 12:3ff. 5. Isa 53:7.

† Translated from *Sancti Aureli Augustini Scripta contra Donatistas*, vol. 2, ed. M. Petschenig, CSEL 52 (Berlin, 1909) 68.

†† Translated from *Sancti Aureli Augustini De peccatorum meritis et remissione et de baptismo parvulorum . . .*, ed. C.F. Urba and J. Zycha, CSEL 60 (Vienna, 1913) 20ff.

I.XVI.21. Correctly it is said that unbaptized infants who die will receive 2524
the mildest of condemnations. Greatly deceived and deceiving others is anyone who states that these infants will not be condemned since, as the apostle says, "Judgment begins with one sin and brings condemnation,"[1] and shortly thereafter, "Through the sin of one all were condemned."[2] So when Adam sinned by disobeying God, his body, even though living and mortal, lost the grace by which it was completely obedient to its soul; then that animal feeling appeared whereby humans, now ashamed, began to blush at their nakedness;[3] also at that time was contracted a disease from a sudden and deadly corruption. Consequently they lost the stability of the life in which they were created, and because of the changes experienced during life, death was to be their fate. No matter how many years they lived after this, they began to die on the very day on which they received the law of death, advancing as they were toward old age. Life continues to go on, ending not in perfection but in destruction. And so fulfilled are God's words, "On the day you eat, on that day you will die."[4] The consequence of this bodily disobedience, of this rule of sin and death, is that those who are born physically need to be reborn spiritually, not only that they might attain God's kingdom but also that they indeed may be freed from sin's condemnation. Likewise, just as those physically born are subject to the sin and death of the first human being, so in baptism they are reborn, joined to the justice and eternal life of the second. Thus in Ecclesiasticus we read, "Sin began by a woman and through her all of us die."[5] Whether it says "by the woman" or "by Adam," both refer to the first human being since, as we know, the woman came from the man, and they are one in the flesh, as is written, "The two will become one flesh," says the Lord, "no longer two but one flesh."[6]

I.XVII.22. There are those who say that infants are baptized so that they 2525
may be freed from the sins they brought upon themselves in this life, not from what they have received from Adam. These are easily refuted. Let them, free from any contentious spirit, truly reflect on how absurd their position is, on how it is unworthy of any discussion. Then they will immediately change their minds. But if they are unwilling to do so, we will not so despair of human sense as to fear that they can persuade others to adopt their position. Unless I am mistaken, they themselves hold this opinion because they are biased on behalf of some previous position. They must acknowledge that sins are forgiven the baptized, and yet they refuse to admit that there is a sin that comes from Adam, a sin that is forgiven to infants. [. . .]

I.XVIII.23. On the other hand, these people propose something that ap- 2526
pears worthy of consideration and discussion. They say that the newborn are not baptized so that their sins be forgiven. Since their human birth is

1. Rom 5:16. 2. Rom 5:18. 3. See Gen 3:10. 4. Gen 2:17. 5. Sir 25:23.
6. Matt 19:5–6.

not spiritual, the newborn are baptized so that they might have a spiritual rebirth, be created in Christ, and thereby be made sharers in the kingdom of heaven, and in the same way become children and "heirs of God, coheirs with Christ."[7] When asked whether the nonbaptized, those who are not coheirs with Christ and sharers of the kingdom of heaven,[8] will have at least the benefit of eternal salvation in the resurrection of the dead, they are greatly distressed and stymied. Will any Christian maintain that people can attain eternal salvation without being reborn in Christ? When he was about to institute a sacrament for those requiring rebirth unto the hope of eternal salvation, Christ desired that this rebirth take place through baptism. As the apostle says, "Not through any deeds of righteousness of our own but because of his mercy he saved us through the bath of rebirth."[9] This salvation, he says, is found in hope while we live here. "For in hope we were saved. Hope that is seen is not hope. Who hopes for what one sees? If we hope for what we do not see, we wait with endurance."[10] Therefore will anyone dare affirm that infants lacking this rebirth can be saved for eternity, as if Christ did not die for them? Christ died for sinners. Obviously these infants did nothing sinful while alive. So if they are not held by any bond of sinfulness deriving from their origin, how could Christ, who died for sinners, have died for them?[11] If they suffer no sickness of original sin, why do those who care for them hasten out of a godly fear to carry them to the Christ who heals so that they might receive the sacrament of eternal salvation? Why does not the Church rather say to them, "Don't bring these innocent ones here; 'the healthy have no need for a physician, but those who are sick'?"[12] Is it that Christ came not to "call the righteous but to call sinners"?[13] Such an argument has never been proposed, is not being proposed, and will never be proposed in the Church of Christ.

2527 I.XIX.25. Some will ask how infants are called to penance. "How can these little ones repent of anything?" The answer is that if they are not to be called penitents because they do not yet have a mind that can understand penance, then neither are they to be called believers because in like manner they do not understand what it means to believe. If, however, they are rightly called believers because in some way they profess their faith through their parents, why is it that previously they were not considered to be penitents since by the words of the same parents they renounce the devil and this world? All this takes place in hope by the strength of the sacrament of divine grace given by the Lord to the Church. Furthermore, who does not know that a baptized infant upon reaching the age of reason simply does not benefit from what was received when it was young if it does not believe or if it does not refrain from unlawful desires? Should infants depart this world after baptism, then the guilt that originally

7. Rom 8:17. 8. See John 3:5. 9. Titus 3:5. 10. Rom 8:24–25. 11. See Rom 5:6. 12. See Luke 5:31. 13. Matt 9:12; Luke 5:32.

burdened them has been removed, and they will be perfected in that light of truth, a light which remains forever unchangeable, a light which by the presence of the Creator enlightens the righteous. Sins alone separate us from God,[14] and sins are removed by Christ's grace through whose mediation we are reconciled[15] when he justifies the sinner.[16]

I.XXIV.34. The Punic Christians [those of Carthage] rightly speak of bap- 2528
tism as "salvation." They refer to Christ's Body as "life." Now what is the origin of this if not from an ancient and, I presume, apostolic tradition by which the churches of Christ hold it as a principle that without being baptized and sharing at the Lord's table[17] no one can enter God's kingdom or attain salvation and eternal life? As we stated above, Scripture testifies to this. Does designating baptism by the word "salvation" differ from Scripture's "He saved us through the bath of rebirth"[18] and Peter's statement, "This prefigured baptism which saves you"?[19] When the sacrament of the Lord's table is called "life," is this not what the Scriptures say, "I am the living bread that descended from heaven and which I will give you; my flesh is for the life of the world, and if you do not eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink his blood you will not have life within you."[20] If, therefore, as so many and such divine testimonies agree, we can expect neither salvation nor eternal life without baptism and the Lord's Body and Blood, then it is futile to promise salvation and eternal life to infants without these. Furthermore, if only sins separate[21] one from salvation and eternal life, then what these sacraments forgive in infants is nothing other than the guilt of sin from which, as we read, no one is clean, not even if a person lives only one day.[22] And so we read in the Psalms, "I was conceived in iniquity, and in sins my mother conceived me."[23] This was said about people generally or, if David said this about himself, he was certainly born not from fornication but from a legitimate marriage. And so we should not doubt that Christ's blood was also shed for infants yet to be baptized. This blood, before being shed, was given and commended to us in the sacrament when the Lord said, "This is my Blood which will be shed for many unto the forgiveness of sins."[24] Those unwilling to admit that people are under the bond of sin deny there is any liberation. Then from what are people set free if they are not under the slavery of sin?

I.XXIV.35. "I have come," he says, "as light to the world so that all who 2529
believe in me will not remain in the darkness."[25] What does this show except that those who do not believe in him remain in the darkness, and that those who believe in him escape the darkness of sin? What is this darkness unless it is sin? Whatever else darkness may mean, those who do not believe in Christ will remain in it. Surely it is a punishment; darkness is not required for the refreshment of the living.

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14. See Isa 59:2. 15. See Rom 5:10; 1 Tim 2:5. 16. See Rom 4:5. 17. See Mark 16:16; John 3:5; 1 Cor 10:16. 18. Titus 3:5. 19. 1 Pet 3:21. 20. John 6:51, 53. 21. See Isa 59:2. 22. See Job 14:4–5. 23. Ps 51:5. 24. Matt 26:28. 25. John 12:46.

2530 I.xxv. So it is that infants, unless they are to be numbered among believers through the sacrament that has been divinely instituted for this purpose, will surely remain in the darkness.

2531 I.xxv.36. Some, however, believe that infants are enlightened as soon as they are born. This is how they understand "he was the true light enlightening all who come into this world."[26] Now if this is true, then we can wonder why infants, enlightened by the only Son who in the beginning was the Word with God and was God,[27] are not permitted to enter the kingdom of God, nor are they heirs of God[28] and coheirs with Christ. Even those holding this opinion acknowledge that such an inheritance is granted to infants only through baptism. And so if infants—although already enlightened—are not yet fit to enter God's kingdom, they should be happy to receive at least the baptism that makes them suitable for this; yet we see them reluctant to do so, objecting with many tears. So we disregard the ignorance of that young age in order to fully carry out the sacraments, which we know will benefit them, even though they are unwilling. Why then does the apostle say, "Be not children in understanding"[29] if their minds have already been illumined by that true light[30] which is the Word of God?

2532 I.xxv.38. [. . .] Remaining in the darkness are those who do not believe in him who said, "I am the light that came into the world so that all who believe in me might not remain in darkness."[31] Mother Church, not doubting that this happens in infants through the sacrament, provides them with a mother's heart and lips so that they may be immersed in the sacred mysteries. She does so since the hearts of infants are not yet capable of believing unto righteousness and since their mouths cannot yet confess unto salvation. No member of the faithful would hesitate to call these children "believers"—a name taken from the act of believing—even though they do not do this themselves, for during the celebration of the sacraments others reply in their name.

2533 I.xxxiv.63. What shall I say as to the form of the sacrament? I wish that someone holding a different opinion would bring an infant for me to baptize. What effect does my exorcism have upon that child unless it is a member of the devil's family? Whoever brought the infant to be baptized would certainly have to respond to me on its behalf since infants are unable to answer in their own name. Is it possible for infants to declare that they renounce the devil if the devil is not within them? Can we say that infants are converted to God if they have not previously rejected God? That infants believe, among other things, in the forgiveness of sins if they have no sins? As for my thinking, if I believed that the sponsors' opinions were contrary to the faith, I would not allow them to bring infants to the sacraments. [. . .]

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26. John 1:9. 27. See John 1:1. 28. See Rom 8:17. 29. 1 Cor 14:20. 30. See John 1:9. 31. John 12:46.

I.xxxiv.64. [. . .] There is an important difference between those who 2534
maintain that infants are completely pure and free from all sins—be it original sin or personal sin—and those who believe that infants, immediately from birth onwards, contract their own personal sins for which they require the cleansing of baptism. This latter group, by examining the Scriptures, by considering the authority of the whole Church and the form of the sacrament itself, clearly understands that through baptism infants are set free from sin; and yet this group is either unwilling or unable to admit that what infants have comes from their origin. The former group, however, clearly and easily understands that the very young, given their very nature, cannot possibly commit any personal sins. Yet to avoid admitting the existence of original sin, they maintain that infants have no sin whatsoever. [. . .] Now if the one side grants that sins are forgiven to baptized infants, and if the other side grants that infants—as nature itself loudly proclaims in the silence of the infants—have as yet contracted no personal sin, then let both sides agree that all that remains in infants is original sin, which can be remitted by baptism.

II.xxvi.42. Sanctification is not of one kind. Catechumens are, I believe, 2535
in their own way sanctified through the sign of Christ and through the prayer with the imposition of the hand; and what they receive, although not Christ's Body, is holy, more holy than the foods that nourish us because what they receive is a sacrament. Truly the food that we take for sustaining the necessities of life is, as the apostle said, sanctified by the word of God and by prayer,[32] the prayer we make when we are about to feed our bodies. But just as this sanctification of food does not stop what the mouth receives from going down into the stomach and being discarded as waste[33]—partaking of the corruption to which all earthly things are subject, so the Lord exhorts us to labor for a different type of food, one that is incorruptible.[34] Likewise, if catechumens are not baptized, their sanctification profits them nothing, whether for entering the kingdom of heaven or for the remission of sins. So it is that the sanctification said by the apostle to exist in the children of believers in no way pertains to baptism or to the question of the origin of sin and its forgiveness. In the same passage he says that unbelieving spouses can be sanctified by believing spouses: "For an unbelieving husband is made holy through his wife, and the unbelieving wife is made holy through her husband. Otherwise your children would be unclean whereas now they are holy."[35] There is no one, I believe, who is so mistaken, no matter how these words are understood, as to believe that a non-Christian husband, because his wife is Christian, has no need for baptism, that he can obtain the forgiveness of sins and can enter the kingdom of heaven, simply because he is said to be sanctified in his wife.

II.xxvii.43. Whoever still has questions as to why children born of bap- 2536
tized parents are baptized should briefly consider this. Just as the birth of sinful flesh through the one Adam brings condemnation to all born in that

32. See 1 Tim 4:5. 33. See Matt 15:17. 34. See John 6:27. 35. 1 Cor 7:14.

way,[36] so rebirth by the Spirit of grace through the one Jesus Christ leads all—predestined in this way—who are generated to the justification of eternal life. The sacrament of baptism is indeed the sacrament of rebirth.[37] And so just as someone who has not lived is unable to die, and just as a person who has not died is unable to rise, so a person who was never born cannot be reborn. For this reason we conclude that one who has never been born cannot be reborn in his or her parent. All who have been born are to be reborn because "unless one is born again he or she cannot see the kingdom of God."[38] Therefore, even infants are to be immersed in the sacrament of rebirth so that they may not be so unfortunate as to depart this life without baptism. This is done only for the forgiveness of sins,[39] as Christ showed in the passage when, asked how all this could happen, he recalled what Moses did while lifting up the serpent.[40] Since infants are conformed to Christ's death through the sacrament of baptism, we must admit that they are freed from the serpent's bite if we do not wish to stray from the rule of Christian faith. Children, however, did not receive this bite during their own lives but in him upon whom the bite was originally inflicted.

2537 III.IV.8. And if the words of the apostle are unclear when he says, "Through one person sin entered the world and through sin death and so death came to all,"[41] and if these words can be interpreted differently, is there anything ambiguous in the following: "No one can enter the kingdom of God without being born again through water and the Spirit"?[42] Or is this ambiguous, "You will call his name Jesus; for he will save his people from their sins"?[43] Or this: "Not the healthy but the sick need a physician"?[44] Namely, that Jesus is not needed by those who have no sin but by those who are to be saved from sin? Or this: "Unless we eat his flesh, that is, partake of his Body, we will not have life"?[45] These testimonies as well as others that I now pass over are most clear by the divine light and most certainly by divine authority. Does not the truth unambiguously proclaim in them that unbaptized infants are not only unable to enter the kingdom of God but are also unable to possess eternal life apart from the Body of Christ. In order to be incorporated into this Body, they are washed through the sacrament of baptism. Does not the truth surely testify that the only reason these infants are carried in the pious arms of their parents to Jesus, namely, to Christ who is their Savior and physician, is so they can be healed from the plague of sin through the medicine of the sacraments? Why, then, do we hesitate to understand the apostle's words, about which we perhaps had some doubts, so that these words might agree with testimonies that we cannot doubt.

2538 III.V.10. And so blessed Cyprian[a] has rightly shown how the Church from its very beginning held this as something to be believed and to be

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a. WEC 1:27.

36. See Rom 5:18. 37. See Titus 3:5. 38. John 3:3. 39. See Mark 1:4; Acts 2:38. 40. See John 3:14. 41. Rom 5:12. 42. John 3:5. 43. Matt 1:21. 44. Matt 9:12. 45. See John 6:54.

understood. When questioned as to whether baptism might be conferred before the eighth day, he asserted that those most recently born from their mother's womb are fittingly baptized. As best he could, he attempted to prove that these infants were ready so that no one might believe that they still had to be made ready since infants were formerly circumcised on the eighth day. But after giving them the great protection of his defense, he acknowledged that they were not immune from original sin. Had he denied this, he would have removed the very reason for their receiving baptism, something he was defending. Should you desire, you can read this letter of the notable martyr; it is entitled *De baptizandis parvulis* and a copy ought to be found in Carthage. I have decided to incorporate some of its passages into this treatise insofar as they seem pertinent to the question under consideration. Wisely take note. "You say that infants should not be baptized within the second or third day of birth and that the ancient law of circumcision should be considered. In your opinion the newly born should not be baptized and sanctified till the eighth day. Our council thought altogether differently. No one agreed with your thinking in this matter, but all of us decided that God's mercy and grace should not be denied to any human being. As the Lord said in his Gospel, 'The Son of Man did not come to destroy the lives of human beings but to save them.'[46] As far as possible, no soul is to be lost."[b] Notice what he says. Is it not destructive and deadly, not only to the infant's flesh but also to his or her soul, to depart this life without that saving sacrament? Therefore if he said nothing more, we would correctly understand that a soul without sin cannot perish. But notice what he clearly acknowledges concerning them when somewhat later he defends the innocence of infants: "If anything could hinder us from obtaining grace, then sins that are more grave can more impede those who are adults and elderly and older. Since sins are forgiven even to the most serious sinners, once these sinners have come to believe—no matter how greatly they formerly sinned against God—and since baptism and grace are forbidden to no one, all the more they should not be forbidden to an infant who as a newborn has not sinned other than, having been bodily born after Adam, has contracted by its first birth the contagion of the ancient death. That it is not one's own sins but those of another that are forgiven makes it easier to receive the forgiveness of sins."[c]

98-J. Homily Three on the First Letter of John[†]

Augustine's homilies, ten in all, on the First Letter of John were given in 416.

b. Letter 64. 11. (WEC 1:566).

c. Letter 64. v. (WEC 1:568).

46. Luke 9:56.

[†] Translated from *Commentaire de la premier Epître de s. Jean*, ed. P. Aagaësse, SChr 75 (Paris, 1961) 192–95.

2539 v. "They went out from us," but . . . be not sad, "they were not of our number." How do you prove this? "If they had been of our number, they would have remained with us."[1] By this, dearly beloved, you see that many who are not with us nonetheless receive the sacraments with us, receive baptism with us, receive with us that which the faithful know they are receiving: the blessing, the Eucharist, and whatever is in the holy mysteries; they receive Communion from the very altar with us and yet they are not of us. [. . .] "And you have an anointing from the Holy One so that you may be manifest to yourselves."[2] The spiritual anointing is the Spirit itself whose sacramental sign is in the visible anointing. John says that all who have this anointing of Christ recognize those who are good and those who are bad. There is no need that they be taught this since the anointing itself instructs them.

98-K. On the Trinity†

This treatise was published in two parts, the first twelve books between 399 and 412, the remaining books and the work's final edition about 420.

2540 III.IV.10. By means of signs the apostle Paul [. . .] was able to proclaim the Lord Jesus Christ,[1] either through his speech, through a letter, or through the sacraments of the Lord's Body and Blood; when we speak of Christ's Body and Blood we certainly do not refer to Paul's speech, or to the parchment and ink, or to the expressive sounds made by his tongue, or to the sign of the letters imprinted on skins. Only what is taken from the fruits of the earth and consecrated by a mystical prayer do we rightly receive to benefit our spiritual health, doing so in memory of what the Lord endured for us.[2] Although human hands make this visible, it is only through the invisible action of God's Spirit that it is sanctified to become so great a sacrament. [. . .]

2541 XV.XXVI.46. [. . .] What is written in the Acts of the Apostles is more evident in regard to him. "Because God anointed him with the Holy Spirit."[3] Certainly this was not with visible oil but by the gift of grace which is signified by the visible oil used by the Church to anoint the baptized. To be sure, Christ was not at that time anointed by the Holy Spirit when the Spirit, at Christ's baptism, came down upon him like a dove.[4] For at that time Christ deigned to prefigure his Body, namely, his Church, within which especially the baptized receive the Holy Spirit. [. . .]

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1. 1 John 2:19. 2. 1 John 2:20.

† Translated from *De trinitate libri XV*, vol. 1, ed. W.J. Mountain, CCL 50 (Turnhout, 1968) 136; vol. 2, CCL 50 A (Turnhout, 1968) 526.

1. See 1 Cor 1:23. 2. See Luke 22:19; 1 Cor 11:24–25. 3. Acts 10:38. 4. See Luke 3:22.

98-L. Homilies on the Gospel of John†

This collection of 124 homilies or sermons dates from about 413–18. There is disagreement as to whether all these pieces were actually delivered by Augustine or whether some of them, dictated by him, were preached by another cleric to the people.

VI.8. [. . .] Should a person be baptized, for example, by a recognized holy person, and should another be baptized by an individual who has less merit with God—someone lower in rank, having less self-control, and of lesser circumstances—how is it that what they have received is one and the same unless it is because "This is he who baptizes"?[1] Therefore when baptism is conferred by a good person and by a better person, one individual does not receive what is good, and another does not receive what is better. Although the ministers were good and better, they receive what is one and equal, not better in one and less in the other. So when a bad person baptizes out of some type of ignorance or with the toleration of the Church (for evil people are not known as such or are tolerated, just as chaff is tolerated till the threshing-floor is at last cleansed), what is given is one; it is not unequal because of unequal ministers. Both are equal since "This is he who baptizes." 2542

IX.2. [. . .] The Lord, having been invited, went to the wedding feast in order to confirm conjugal chastity and to proclaim that marriage is a sacrament. [. . .] 2543

XI.3. [. . .] All the catechumens are like him [Nicodemus]. Already they believe in the name of Christ, and yet Jesus does not entrust himself to them. Listen, beloved, and understand this. If we ask the catechumens, "Do you believe in Christ?" they will answer, "I do believe" and will sign themselves, for they already bear Christ's cross on the forehead and are not ashamed of this cross. See, they believe in the Lord's name. Let us ask them, "Do you eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink his blood?" They do not understand what we are asking because Jesus has not entrusted himself to them. 2544

XV.4. [. . .] What is the baptism of Christ? The washing with water in the word. Remove the water, and it is not baptism; remove the word, and it is not baptism. 2545

XVII.4. [. . .] The number forty is committed to us as sacred since it is, as it were, a perfect number. This, I believe, is known to you, my beloved, for the holy Scriptures most often testify to this. You are also well aware that fasting is consecrated by this number: Moses fasted for forty days;[2] Elijah for an equal number of days;[3] and our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ observed this same number.[4] The Law is represented by Moses; the 2546

† Translated from *In Iohannis evangelium tractatus CXXIV*, ed. R. Willems, CCL 36 (Turnhout, 1954) 57ff.

1. See Matt 28:19. 2. See Exod 34:28. 3. See 1 Kgs 19:8. 4. See Matt 4:2.

prophets are represented by Elijah; the Gospel by our Lord. [. . .] In its broad and general sense fasting means to abstain from the iniquities and illicit pleasures of the world, and perfect fasting means "rejecting impiety and worldly desires, so that we may live temperately and devoutly in this world."[5] What reward does the apostle join to this fast? As he then says, "awaiting that blessed hope and appearance of the glory of the blessed God and of our Savior Jesus Christ."[6] In that hope, when its object comes to pass, we will receive our reward, namely, a *denarius*. For, according to the Gospel, this reward was given to those working in the vineyard,[7] something I believe you remember, for I need not mention everything as if I were speaking to the very ignorant and inexperienced. A *denarius*, which takes its name from the number ten, is given; this number joined to forty equals fifty. So it is that with toil we observe the forty days that precede the Pasch; however, it is with joy, as if having received a reward, that we celebrate the fifty days after the Pasch. The *denarius* of rest and happiness is added to the salutary labor of good work so that the number fifty is formed.

2547 XXVI.15. [. . .] The sacrament of this thing, namely, of the Body and Blood of Christ, is in some places prepared on the Lord's table each day; in other places after a certain number of days. It is received from the Lord's table by some unto life, by others unto death. The reality itself, of which it is the sacrament, is unto life for every person participating in it, for no one unto death.

2548 XLIV.2. [. . .] Ask someone, "Are you a Christian?" If he or she is a pagan or is Jewish, the response will be, "I am not." But if the answer is positive, then ask, "Are you a catechumen or one of the faithful?" If the response is, "I am a catechumen," then he or she has been anointed but not yet washed. [. . .]

2549 LXXX.3. "You are already clean because of the word I have spoken to you."[8] Why does he not say, "You are cleansed because of the baptism by which you are cleansed," but rather, "Because of the word that I spoke to you," unless it is through the water that the word cleanses? Remove the word, and what is the water except water? The word is joined to the element [of water], and the sacrament results, being, as it were, the visible word. [. . .] This word of faith is so active in God's Church through the one who believes, offers, blesses, and moistens with it, that it cleanses even the infant. [. . .]

2550 LXXXIV.1. [. . .] In the Proverbs of Solomon we read, "When you sit down to eat with a ruler, wisely consider what is set out before you, and so apply your hand, that it is appropriate for you to prepare such" [meals].[9] For what is the table of the ruler unless it is the place from which you receive the Body and Blood of him who died for you? And what is it to sit there unless it is to approach [the table] with humility? And what is

5. Titus 2:12. 6. Titus 2:13. 7. See Matt 20:9–10. 8. John 15:3. 9. Prov 23:1–2.

it to reflect upon and to understand what has been set out for you unless it is to think appropriately about such a great kindness? And what is it to apply your hand so that you might understand that you are to prepare such feasts unless, as I have already said, that just as Christ died for us, so we should lay down our lives for one another. The apostle Peter also says, "Christ suffered for us, leaving us an example so that we might follow in his footsteps."[10] This is what "to prepare such" means. This is what the martyrs, burning with love, did. If we celebrate their memories not in vain, and if we approach the Lord's table for the banquet by which they were filled, we like them must make similar preparations. And so it is not in the same manner that we commemorate them at table as we do the others who rest in peace, as if we should pray for the martyrs; rather, they should pray for us. [. . .]

XCVI.3. [. . .] Although the sacraments of the faithful are not shown 2551
to the catechumens, it is not that the catechumens cannot bear to look upon them; the reason is that they may all the more ardently desire these sacraments.

CXVIII.5. [. . .] As all know, the sign of Christ is nothing other than the 2552
cross of Christ. For unless that sign is applied, whether it be to the foreheads of believers, or to the water from which they are reborn, or to the oil by which they are anointed with chrism, or to the sacrifice by which they are nourished, then none of these is properly carried out. [. . .]

98-M. Answer to Julian the Pelagian†

This treatise, dating from about 421, is Augustine's response to four books written by Julian against Augustine's teaching on marriage.

III.v.11. You are in error when you believe that "there is no sin in children 2553
since children do not possess a will, and without a will there can be no sin." This is true when it refers to personal sin and not to the original contagion. But if there were no such sin, then infants, truly bound by no evil, would suffer no evil—whether in the body or in the soul—under so great a power of the just God. Yes, evil has its origins in the evil will of the first humans, and so sin has no other origin than an evil will. If you would understand all this, you would simply and truly confess Christ's favor on behalf of children. Furthermore, you would not be constrained to utter impious and ungodly assertions, namely: that children need not be baptized, something you perhaps might say next; or that so great a sacrament is frivolous in children. You hold that although baptized in the Savior, they are not saved; or that they are redeemed by the Liberator but are not set free; or that they are washed with the bath of rebirth but are not cleansed; or that they receive the exorcism and exsufflation but are not delivered from the

10. 1 Pet 2:21.

† Translated from PL 44:707–8.

power of darkness; or that their price is [Christ's] blood which was shed for the forgiveness of sins, but from no sin are they cleansed. [. . .]

98-N. Enchiridion of Faith, Hope, and Love†

Dating from 421, this manual or handbook treats the three theological virtues by explaining the creed (faith), the Our Father (hope), and the moral precepts (love).

2554 XVII.64. Even now the angels are in harmony with us when our sins are remitted. This is why the creed, after mentioning the Church, speaks of the forgiveness of sins. It is through this forgiveness that the Church is established, that what was lost and found does not again perish.[1] Apart from the gift of baptism, which is given to combat original sin and which by rebirth removes what was brought on by birth—this grace removing also actual sins, whether they be sins of thought, of word, or of deed; apart from such a great kindness which begins our renewal and in which all guilt, both inherited and added, is washed away, the remainder of our life, beginning with the age of reason and no matter how we advance in righteousness, is not lived without the forgiveness of sins because God's children are in conflict with death for as long as they live on earth. Since it is correctly said of them, "As many as are led by the Spirit of God are the children of God,"[2] it is true that they are led by the Spirit of God and, being children of God, move toward God; nonetheless, they are led by their own spirit, burdened as it is by a corruptible body.[3] Being children of man and due to certain human feelings they fail in regard to themselves and therefore they sin. Indeed there is a difference as to how far they fail since even though every crime is a sin, not every sin is a crime. And so we say that the lives of the holy ones, while living in this mortal life, may be devoid of any crime. Yet as the apostle says, "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves and the truth is not in us."[4]

2555 XVII.65. Crimes, no matter how great, may be forgiven in the holy Church. Those who do penance according to the type of each sin do not despair of God's mercy. In the act of penance for a crime that separates the sinner from the body of Christ, it is not the amount of time but rather the depth of sorrow that should be kept in mind, for God does not reject a contrite and humble heart.[5] Because the sorrow of one person's heart is generally hidden from another person and is not revealed to others by means of words or other signs, when it is evident to him of whom it is said, "My sorrow is not hidden from you,"[6] rightly have the Church's authorities established times of penance in order to benefit the Church

† Translated from *De fide rerum invisibilium; Enchiridion ad Laurentium de fide et spe et caritate*, ed. M.P.J. van den Hout, CCL 46 (Turnhout, 1969) 83–84, 108–9.

1. See Luke 15:32. 2. Rom 8:14. 3. See Wis 9:15. 4. 1 John 1:8. 5. See Ps 51:17. 6. Ps 38:9.

in which sins are forgiven. Certainly sins are not remitted outside the Church, for the Church alone has received the pledge of the Holy Spirit,[7] without which sins are not forgiven—a forgiveness that brings its recipients to eternal life.

XXIX.110. It cannot be denied that the souls of the deceased benefit 2556
from the piety of the living when the sacrifice of the Mediator is offered for them or when alms are given in church. But such actions only benefit those who while living here on earth lived in such a way as to be assisted by them. [. . .] Therefore, when sacrifices, be they of the altar or of almsgiving, are offered for all the baptized who have died, these are a thanksgiving for those who were very good, a propitiation for those who were not very good; as to the very bad, even though unable to help the deceased, these sacrifices are, as it were, a consolation for the living. Where they are useful, however, they profit by obtaining full pardon or certainly by making the condemnation itself more bearable.

98-O. Exposition of the Psalms†

This very large collection of sermons, some actually preached and others designed to be read, appeared at periodic intervals between 392 and 418.

IV.1. [. . .] One can ask whether every song is a psalm or whether every 2557
psalm is a song. Or are there certain songs that cannot be called psalms and certain psalms that cannot be called songs? We must pay attention to the Scriptures if by chance a song does not proclaim happiness. A song is called a psalm if it is sung to the psaltery which, as history records, the prophet David used in a great mystery. This is not the place for discussing this matter because it requires a long inquiry and much discussion. [. . .]

LIV.16. [. . .] We are brethren, we invoke one God, we believe in one 2558
Christ, we hear one Gospel, we sing one psalm, we respond one Amen, we resound one Alleluia, we celebrate one Pasch. [. . .]

LXXII.1. [. . .] Hymns are praises of God that are sung. They are songs 2559
that praise God. If there is praise but not praise of God, then there is no hymn. If there is praise and praise of God and if it is not sung, then it is no hymn. To be a hymn, there must be praise, praise of God, and singing. [. . .] Whoever sings praise, not only praises but does so with gladness; whoever sings praise, not only sings but also loves the person about whom one sings.[a] In praise the one confessing speaks out; in singing there is the ardor of the one who loves. [. . .]

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7. See 2 Cor 1:22.

† Translated from *Enarrationes in Psalmos I–l*, ed. E. Dekkers, CCL 38 (Turnhout, 1956) 144; *Enarrationes in Psalmos LI–C*, CCL 39 (Turnhout, 1956) 668ff.; *Enarrationes in Psalmos CI–CL*, CCL 40 (Turnhout, 1956) 1451ff.

a. This seems to be the origin of the saying attributed to Augustine, "Whoever sings, prays twice."

2560 XCI.2. [. . .] Behold, today is the Sabbath. At present the Jews observe it by a type of bodily repose, uncertain and extravagant. They take time off to engage in trifles. And although God prescribed the Sabbath, they observe this day by doing things forbidden by God. We refrain from evil things; they, however, refrain from good things. It is better to plough than to dance. The Jews abstain from doing what is good; they do not refrain from what is frivolous. God indicated the Sabbath to us. But what kind of Sabbath is it? First, notice where it is. Our Sabbath is within; it is in the heart. [. . .]

2561 XCIX.12. [. . .] To speak in general terms, God's Church is praised: Christians and only Christians are called great; the Catholic Church is called great; all love one another and try to do what they can for each other. Throughout the whole world Christians praise God by their prayers, fasts, and hymns—doing so with peaceful unanimity. [. . .] Likewise in the common life that is observed by the brethren who dwell in monasteries: these are great and holy men characterized by their daily hymns, prayers, and praises of God; they are occupied with reading; they engage in manual labor whereby they support themselves. [. . .]

2562 CII.2. [. . .] May the sound of our voices alternate with silence; may the sound of our hearts always continue on. When you gather in church to sing a hymn, may your voice sound the praises of God: you have sung what you are able; you depart the church; now your soul sounds the praises of God. When you are at work, may your soul sound God's praises. [. . .]

2563 CVI.1. [. . .] It is customary for us to sing [Alleluia] at a certain time in our solemnities, this being an ancient tradition of the Church. It is not without deep meaning that we sing it on selected days. We indeed sing Alleluia on certain days, but we think it every day. Since the word means praise of God, even if it is not upon our physical mouth, it is certainly on the mouth of the heart. [. . .]

2564 CX.1. The days have arrived during which we sing Alleluia. [. . .] Just as these days with joyful cheerfulness solemnly follow the time of Lent—a time before the Lord's resurrection when this life's sorrow is signified—so with perpetual happiness there follows that day which after the resurrection is given to the Lord's full body, namely, to the holy Church, a day when all the hard labors and sorrows of this life are set aside. The present life demands self-control from us so that we, groaning and burdened with toil and exertion, may refrain from worldly delights. This is signified by the number forty, which was the length of time that Moses, Elijah, and the Lord himself fasted. [. . .] The number fifty after the Lord's resurrection, during which time we sing the Alleluia, does not signify the end and passing away of a certain time but stands for the blessed eternity. [. . .]

2565 CXXXVII.2. [. . .] I remind you that in Scripture the word "confess," as when we confess to God, has two meanings: either referring to sins or to praise. All are acquainted with confessing sins; few pay attention to the confession of praise. [. . .]

CXLVI.2. A psalm is indeed a song, not any type of song but one sung to 2566
the psaltery, which is a type of musical instrument like the lyre, harp, and similar instruments invented for [accompanying] singing. Therefore whoever sings a psalm does not sing only with the voice but also taking up the instrument which is called the psaltery, adds hands to the voice. Do you wish to sing a psalm? May not only your voice sound the praise of God, but may your works agree with your voice. Therefore when you sing with your voice, you may at times be silent. But may your life sing in such a way that you will never be silent. [. . .]

CXLVIII.1. [. . .] There are two times, the one existing in this life's tri- 2567
als and tribulations, the other, yet to come, being a time of everlasting security and joy. For this reason we have been given two seasons, one before the Pasch and the other after the Pasch. The season before the Pasch stands for the tribulation we are presently experiencing. The present season stands for the happiness we will afterwards experience. Therefore what we celebrate before the Pasch is what we now have; what we celebrate after the Pasch stands for what we do not yet have. During the former season we attend to prayers and fastings. During this season fasting is over, and we engage in prayer. It is the Alleluia that we sing. As you know, in Latin "Alleluia" means "Praise the Lord." Therefore the season for fasting is before the Lord's resurrection; this is the season after the Lord's resurrection, a time standing for the future life we do not yet possess. What we signify after the Lord's resurrection we will obtain after our own resurrection. [. . .]

CXLVIII.2. And so, brethren, we exhort you to praise God; this is what 2568
it means when we address you with the "Alleluia"; it means "Praise the Lord." When all exhort one another to do this, then all are actually doing what they are exhorting one another to do. Give praise with all your being, namely, do not praise God only with your mouth and voice but also with your minds, your lives, and by all you do. Now as we gather in church, we give praise; but when we return to our affairs, it seems that we stop doing so. May you continue to live well and thereby always praise God. [. . .] And so, brethren, attend not only to the sound. When praising God, praise with all your being. May your voice sing, your life sing; may all that you do sing. [. . .]

CXLVIII.17. [. . .] Do you know what a hymn is? It is a song that praises 2569
God. Now if you praise God but do not sing, you are not uttering a hymn. And if you sing but do not praise God, you are not uttering a hymn. If you praise something that does not pertain to the praise of God, and even if you sing while praising, you are not uttering a hymn. A hymn has three elements: song, praise, and God. And so we have a hymn when God is praised in song. [. . .]

CXLIX.7. [. . .] "Let them praise his name in chorus" [verse 3]. What is 2570
the meaning of "chorus"? Many know what a chorus is. And because we speak in a city, almost all know that a "chorus" is an agreement of those

who are singing. If we sing in a chorus, we sing in agreement. Now if someone's voice in the chorus of singers is out of tune, then the ear is offended and the chorus is thrown into confusion. If the voice of the one singing out of tune disturbs the harmony of those singing, how greatly does the discord of heresy disturb the harmony of those giving praise? Christ's chorus is the whole world. It resounds from east to west. [. . .]

2571 CXLIX.8. [. . .] When you take up the timbrel and psaltery, your hands harmonize with your voice. So it is that when you sing Alleluia you are to offer food to the hungry, you are to clothe the naked, you are to take in the stranger, so that it is not only your voice that speaks, but your hand sounds in agreement because what you do accords with what you say. [. . .]

2572 CL.1. [. . .] Saturday is the seventh day; the Lord's Day comes after the seventh day, and so is it not the eighth day as well as the first day? It is called the first day of the week,[1] and so from it are counted the second, third, fourth, etc., day up to the seventh day, which is the Sabbath. [. . .]

98-P. On the Care to be Taken of the Dead[†]

Written in 421, this treatise is Augustine's answer to a question asked by Paulinus of Nola (WEC 3:110) regarding care for the deceased and the benefit of being buried near the tombs of the martyrs.

2573 I.3. [. . .] In the Book of Maccabees we read that sacrifice was offered for the deceased.[1] Yet even if it were found nowhere else in the ancient Scriptures, the authority of the whole Church, which is not insignificant, is clear regarding this custom. The commendation of the deceased has its place in the prayers of the priest that are poured out to the Lord God at his altar.

2574 XII.15. [. . .] The Pasch was approaching. He [Curma] gave his name as did many others unknown to us [to be enrolled] among the *competentes*. [. . .] He was baptized, and at the end of the holy days returned home. [. . .]

98-Q. The City of God[††]

Occasioned by Alaric's sack of Rome in 410, this lengthy work was written at various intervals between 413 and 426. Christianity, according to its pagan critics, was responsible for the dissolution of the Roman Empire. In Books I–X Augustine shows the weakness of the pagan religion; in Books XI–XXII he outlines the conflict existing between the heavenly city,

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1. See Mark 16:2.

[†] Translated from *Sancti Aureli Augustini De fide et symbolo . . . De cura pro mortuis gerenda . . .*, ed. J. Zycha, CSEL 41 (Vienna, 1900) 623–24, 646.

1. See 2 Macc 12:43.

[††] Translated from *De civitate Dei*, vol. 1, ed. B. Dombart, CCL 47 (Turnhout, 1955) 276ff.; vol. 2, CCL 48 (Turnhout, 1955) 717ff.

namely, the city of God or the city of belief, and the earthly city, namely, that of self-love and disbelief.

X.v. [. . .] The fact that the ancients offered animal sacrifices—something God's people read about yet do not imitate—is to be understood in this way only: they signify what we do in order to draw near to God and in order to persuade our neighbor to do likewise. Therefore the visible sacrifice is the sacrament of the invisible sacrifice, namely, it is a sacred sign. [. . .] 2575

X.vi. [. . .] "For as we have many members in one body, and all the members do not have the same function, so we, being many, are one body in Christ, and individually members of one another. We have gifts that are diverse according to the grace given to us."[1] This is the sacrifice of Christians: "many being one body in Christ." This is the sacrifice celebrated by the Church in the sacrament of the altar, a sacrament known to the faithful, and where it is explained that the Church itself is offered in the offering the Church itself makes. 2576

X.xx. [. . .] Christ is both the priest who offers as well as the victim that is offered. He desired that the sacramental sign of this should be the daily sacrifice of the Church. Since the Church is Christ's body and he is its head, the Church learns to offer itself through him. [. . .] 2577

XX.ix.2. [. . .] The souls of the piously deceased are not separated from the Church, which even now forms the kingdom of Christ. Otherwise they would not be commemorated at God's altar. [. . .] 2578

XXI.xxvii. The daily prayer, taught by Jesus himself and consequently called the Lord's Prayer, certainly removes daily sins when we say each day, "Forgive us our sins."[2] 2579

XXII.viii. [. . .] Even at present there are miracles performed in the name of Christ, whether by his sacraments, by prayer, or by the relics of his saints. [. . .] 2580

In the city of Carthage resided Innocentia, a very pious lady who was a member of the highest social rank. There was a cancer in one of her breasts, a cancer her doctors said was incurable. [. . .] Just before the Pasch she had a dream during which she was told to wait for the first woman who after being baptized would emerge from the baptistery, asking her to make the sign of the cross on her wound. Innocentia did this, and she was immediately cured. [. . .] 2581

[In Victoriana] is a shrine to the Milanese martyrs, Protasius and Gervasius.[a] [. . .] The lady of the manor, with her maids and pious attendants, entered the place for evening prayer and praise, and they began to sing hymns. [. . .] 2582

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a. Protasius and Gervasius: proto-martyrs of Milan whose bodies were discovered by Ambrose in 386; later tradition places their martyrdom in the latter half of the second century.

1. Rom 12:4–6. 2. Matt 6:12.

2583 I know that a young woman from Hippo was freed from a devil upon anointing herself with oil together with the supplications of the presbyter who was petitioning on her behalf. [. . .]

2584 There were seven brothers and three sisters, not of humble birth, from Caesarea in Cappadocia.[b] Their mother, a recent widow, cursed them because of some wrong she greatly resented. So great was the punishment inflicted by God that all their limbs were shaking in a horrible manner. Unable to bear the stares of their fellow citizens occasioned by their most dreadful appearance, they wandered throughout almost the whole Roman world. Two of them arrived among us, a brother named Paulus and his sister Palladia. They were already known since news of their misery had spread far and wide.

2585 Arriving about fifteen days before the Pasch, they went to church where each day they observed the memory of the most glorious Stephen, praying that God now be pleased with them and restore them to health. There and wherever they went they attracted the town's attention. Some who had seen them elsewhere and were aware of the cause of their trembling told this to others as they were able.

2586 The Pasch arrived and on the Lord's Day, in the morning when a huge crowd was present, the young man was clinging to the grating of the holy place where the relics were placed; he was praying. All of a sudden he fell down and was lying flat as if asleep; he was not shaking as always occurred when he was sleeping. Those present were amazed; some were frightened, others were filled with pity. Some tried to bring him to his feet, others wanted to wait and see how everything would end. Behold, he got up. He was cured. He was not shaking. He was standing safe and sound, looking at those who were gazing at him. Could anyone not praise God? The whole church was filled with the voices of those shouting out and congratulating him. Then the crowd ran to me where I was sitting getting ready to enter the church. One after another they came rushing in, the last person entering telling me what was said by the first to enter. While I was rejoicing and thanking God, the young man entered along with some others. Falling down before me, he was lifted up so as to receive my kiss. We went in to the people, the church being full and resounding with the voices of those rejoicing: "Thank God! Praise God!" Without exception the people were shouting out on all sides. I greeted them, and again they shouted out all the more. Finally there was silence, and the Holy Scriptures were solemnly read. When it was time to speak, I said a few words as required by such a joyful occasion, for I desired that the people not hear me but reflect on God's eloquence in this divine work. The young man shared a meal with us and carefully informed us of the whole story of his family's and his mother's misfortune.

b. Cappadocia: a district in eastern Asia Minor.

The next day, after my sermon, I promised to read his account to the people. Doing so—on the third day after Easter Sunday—I had both brother and sister stand on the steps of the elevated place from which I was speaking. Their account was read. All the people, both men and women, saw the one person standing without any unsightly movement and the other trembling in all her members. And those who did not see in the young man what God's kindness had removed saw it in his sister. In him they saw a reason for congratulations; in her a reason for prayer. Once their account had been read, I had them withdraw from the sight of the people. 2587

I was beginning to consider the matter more thoroughly when, while doing so, other voices shouting new congratulations were heard coming forth from the place where the relics were placed. Those listening to me turned around and began to run there. The young woman, descending from the steps on which she was standing, proceeded to the holy relics in order to pray. As soon as she touched the grate, she likewise collapsed as if asleep, and then rose up cured. While we were trying to discover what had taken place and what occasioned this joyful noise, the people returned, leading her from the place of the martyrs into the basilica where we were. Then indeed so great did the clamor of wonder arise from both men and women that the exclamations and tears seemed as if they would never end. She was taken to that location where earlier she stood trembling. The people were rejoicing that she was now like her brother—formerly they felt sorrow that she was unlike him. And even though they had not poured forth their petitions for her, they understood that their earlier intention for doing so was already heard. Without words they raised their voices in praise of God, making such a noise that our ears could hardly bear it. What was there in the hearts of these joyful people other than the faith of Christ for which Stephen had shed his blood? 2588

98-R. On Christian Doctrine[†]

This treatise, consisting of four books, was partially written in 396/397 and completed in 426/427 when the work as a whole was issued. It is a guide to learning the truths of the Scriptures and a manual of the methodology to be followed in imparting these truths.

III.IX.13. [. . .] The Lord himself and the teaching of the apostles have given us just a few signs rather than many. These are most easy to carry out, most venerable in meaning, and most holy in observance. Examples are the sacrament of baptism and the celebration of the Lord's Body and Blood. Those who, after instruction, receive these sacraments know to what they refer and consequently venerate them not in carnal servitude but rather in spiritual freedom. [. . .] 2589

[†] Translated from *De doctrina christiana*, ed. K.-D. Daur, CCL 32 (Turnhout, 1962) 86.

98-S. On Heresies†

Composed ca. 428 and remaining incomplete due to Augustine's death, this work lists eighty-eight heresies; it was written at the request of Quodvultdeus, a deacon in Carthage.

2590 LXXXVIII.4. They [the Pelagians[a]] destroy the prayers offered by the Church, whether for the conversion to God of nonbelievers and of those resisting God's teaching or for the faithful that they may grow and persevere in their faith. [. . .]

2591 LXXXVIII.6. They also deny that children born carnally according to Adam contract at their first birth the infection of the ancient death. They assert that these children are born without any bond of original sin. Consequently there is nothing in them that should be removed by a second birth. They believe that infants are baptized so that, adopted at rebirth, these infants may be admitted to God's kingdom, being transported from what is good to what is better, not that such a rebirth delivers them from any evil afflicting them from of old. Even if infants are not baptized, they promise them some type of eternal and blessed life outside the kingdom of God.

98-T. To the Catechumens regarding the Creed††

Of uncertain date, this sermon was preached to the catechumens and most probably during the time of immediate preparation for their baptism during the Easter Vigil.

2592 I.1. Receive the rule of faith which is known as the symbol [the creed]. Once having received it, write it on your heart. Daily recite it to yourselves. Before you go to sleep, before you go forth, arm yourselves with the symbol. No one writes down a symbol in order that it may be read. But may your memory be for you an account-book so that what has been carefully handed down may not be lost. What you are about to hear, that you will believe; and what you believe, that you will give back with the tongue. As the apostle says, "With the heart one believes unto righteousness, with the mouth confession is made unto salvation."[1] For this is the symbol, this is what you will study and give back. The words you will hear are scattered throughout the divine Scriptures; gathered from there, they are brought together so that the memory of the more simple need

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† Translated from *De fide rerum invisibilium; . . . De haeresibus*, ed. C. Beukers, CCL 46 (Turnhout, 1969) 341.

a. Pelagians: adherents of a heresy initiated by Pelagius and holding that a person can be saved by that person's merits alone.

†† Translated from *De fide rerum invisibilium; . . . Sermo ad catechumenos de symbolo*, ed. R. Vander-Plaetse, CCL 46 (Turnhout, 1969) 185–86, 198–99.

1. Rom 10:10.

not exert itself, so that every individual can say and hold fast to what is believed. [. . .]

1.2. [. . .] We were brought low, made mortal. We were filled with fear 2593
and error; and this because of sin; all are born with sin's effects and guilt. This is why, as you have seen today and as you know, even little children receive the exsufflation and the exorcism so that the devil's unfriendly power might be banished from them, a power which deceived one man so that it might possess all humankind. It is not the creature of God in infants that receives the exorcism or exsufflation; it is he under whose power are all who are born with sin. [. . .]

VII.15. [. . .] Once you will have been baptized, continue to lead a good 2594
life, obeying God's commandments so that you keep sight of your baptism till the end. I do not say that your life here on earth will be without sin; there are venial sins without which there is no life. Baptism exists because of all sins; prayer exists because of the light sins without which we cannot exist. What does prayer involve? Forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors.[2] Only once are we washed by baptism; daily are we washed by prayer. Do not commit sins that separate you from Christ's body—may these be far from you. Those whom you see doing penance have committed serious sins, whether it be adultery or some horrible deed. This is why they are doing penance. For if their sins were light, then daily prayer would suffice to blot them out.

VII.16. There are three ways through which sins are forgiven in the 2595
Church: by baptism, by prayer, by the greater humility of penance. Yet God remits the sins of only the baptized. The very sins God forgives first are only forgiven to those who have been baptized. And when? At the time of their baptism. The sins later on remitted through prayer and penance are forgiven to the baptized. For how can those who are not yet born say, "Our Father"? The catechumens, as long as they remain catechumens, retain all their sins. Now if this is true for the catechumens, then how much more is it true for pagans? And also how much more for heretics? Yet we do not repeat a baptism given by heretics. Why not? Because heretics possess baptism just as a deserter retains the mark of a soldier. So it is that heretics have baptism; yet thereby they are condemned and not crowned. But if the deserter himself, being corrected, returns to his military service, is there anyone who dares change his mark as a soldier?

98-U. Corrections[†]

Writing between 426 and 428 Augustine lists in two books his ninety-four major works and indicates the various details (including any revisions) of each work.

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2. Matt 6:12.

[†] Translated from *Retractiones libri II*, ed. A. Mutzenbecher, CCL 57 (Turnhout, 1999) 98.

II.XI. One Book against Hilary

2596 Meanwhile a certain Hilary, a Christian layman who held the rank of tribune, was, as customarily happened, angry at God's ministers. The reason was the practice then beginning in Carthage whereby hymns from the Book of the Prophets were being sung [*dicerentur*] at the altar either before the offering or when what was offered was being distributed to the people. Using abusive and condemnatory language he attacked this practice wherever he could, claiming that such a custom should not be followed. At the urging of my brethren, I responded, and the book is called *Against Hilary*.[a]

It begins: "Those who mention the Old Testament."

98-V. Rule of Saint Augustine[†]

Written toward the very end of the fifth century, this Rule was probably meant for the religious women whose communities were under Augustine's direction.

2597 II.1. "Be steadfast in prayer"[1] at the appointed hours and times.

2598 II.2. No one is to do anything in the oratory other than what is to be done there, and from this it receives the name "oratory"; and so if there are some who wish to pray there, outside the appointed time and when they are free to do so, they should not be hindered from so doing by those who believe that they themselves have something to do there.

2599 II.3. When you pray to God using psalms and hymns, may what you utter aloud resound in your hearts.

2600 II.4. Only sing what you read is to be sung; do not sing what you read is not to be sung.

98-W. Letters

Some 308 letters belong to the Augustinian corpus, including a number addressed by others to Augustine. Treating a wide variety of subjects, they offer a precious insight into the numerous theological, pastoral, and other questions discussed and debated in the Church of his time.

98-W-1. LETTER 22. TO AURELIUS[††a]

2601 III. [. . .] Philandering and lewdness are considered to be such great crimes that those who have thereby disgraced themselves are not only

a. Unfortunately this book has been lost.

† Translated from *La Règle de s. Augustin*, ed. L. Verheijen, Etudes augustiniennes 1 (Paris, 1967) 420–21.

1. Col 4:2.

†† Translated from *S. Aureli Augustini Hipponiensis Episcopi Epistulae*, vol. 1, ed. A. Goldbacher, CSEL 34.1 (Vienna, 1895) 56–57.

a. Aurelius: bishop of Carthage 391–ca. 430. This letter was written ca. 392.

unworthy of holding a church office but are also unworthy to share in the sacraments. And rightly so. Yet why only these sins? Because carousing and intoxication are considered permitted and tolerated to the extent that they are openly engaged in every day and not only on solemn days during celebrations in honor of the most holy martyrs. This is deplored by all who observe these things with spiritual eyes. [. . .] Can anyone dare to forbid in private what occurs in the holy places under the guise of honoring the martyrs?

98-W-2. LETTER 23. TO MAXIMINUS[†a]

11. [. . .] To rebaptize a heretic, who has received the signs of holiness 2602
that Christian practice has given us, is surely a sin; however, to rebaptize a Catholic is a most serious sin. [. . .]

98-W-3. LETTER 29. TO ALYPIUS[††a]

XI. During the afternoon more people assembled than in the morning. 2603
And up to the time when I left with the bishop,[b] there was reading alternating with psalmody. After we departed there were two psalms. Then the old man [Valerius] expressly commanded that I speak—something I preferred not to do since I was looking forward to the end of such a stressful day. I gave a brief address in which I thanked God. [. . .] When I finished saying what the Lord suggested for such an occasion, the daily evening service was celebrated; while the bishop and I were leaving, the brethren who were present sang a hymn; no small number of men and women remained, singing psalms till nightfall.

98-W-4. LETTER 36. TO CASULANUS[†††a]

1.2. As to the question you asked me, namely, whether it is permissible 2604
to fast on Saturday, I answer: if fasting is in no way permitted, then neither Moses[1] nor Elijah[2] nor even the Lord himself[3] would have fasted forty days. Indeed by the same reasoning we can also conclude that fasting on the Lord's Day is not unlawful. Nonetheless, should anyone think that this day ought to be set aside as a day of fast, similar to the fast on Saturday,

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† Translated from CSEL 34.1:65.

a. Maximinus: a Donatist bishop in Numidia (northern Africa). This letter was written between 391 and 395.

†† Translated from CSEL 34.1:121–22.

a. Alypius: bishop of Thagaste, now Souk-Ahras in Algeria. This letter was written in 395.

b. Namely, Valerius, Augustine's predecessor as bishop of Hippo.

††† Translated from *S. Aureli Augustini Hipponiensis Episcopi Epistulae*, vol. 2, ed. A. Goldbacher, CSEL 34.2 (Vienna, 1898) 32ff.

a. Casulanus: a priest, perhaps in Africa. This letter was written after April 397.

1. See Exod 34:28. 2. See 1 Kgs 19:8. 3. See Matt 4:2; Luke 4:2.

this person should, and rightly so, be considered as bringing no little harm to the Church. As to those things concerning which the holy Scriptures have decreed nothing as being certain, the custom of God's people or the teaching of the ancients is to be followed as being the law. [. . .]

2605 XII.27. [. . .] It is a great offense to fast on the Lord's Day, especially now after the Manichaean[b] heresy has become popular, a heresy which is quite clearly contrary to the Catholic faith and the holy Scriptures. The heretics prescribe that their adherents are to fast on this day. Accordingly, it is considered more horrible to fast on Sunday, except for those wanting to continue fasting beyond a week in order to approach as far as possible a full forty days of fast, as we know some do. [. . .]

2606 XII.31. The Sabbath followed, the day when Christ's body rested in the tomb just as God, when fashioning the world, on that day refrained from all activity.[4] This was the origin of variety in the clothing of the queen [the Church] so that some, especially those in the East, prefer to break the fast on Saturday as a sign of rest; others, like the Roman and various other churches of the West, fast on that day to mark the humiliation of the Lord's death. But once a year, however, at the Pasch Christians everywhere fast on Saturday, doing so to recall the sorrow experienced by the disciples at the death of the Lord. This practice is observed with the greatest devotion by those who take food on other Saturdays during the year. In this way the sorrow of the disciples is signified on the anniversary day, and the blessing of rest is signified on other Saturdays. Certainly there are two things that motivate us to hope for the happiness of the just and the end of all misery, namely, death and resurrection from the dead. In death we find the repose spoken of by the prophet, "Come, my people, and enter into your chambers and close your doors behind you; hide yourselves for a short while till the Lord's wrath has passed by."[5] In the resurrection happiness is made perfect in the human body and spirit. This is why it was thought that death and resurrection should not be signified by fasting but rather by the joy of taking food, the only exception being the one paschal Saturday on which, as we have said, the sorrow of the disciples was to be signified by a more protracted fast observed in memory of what had taken place.

2607 XIV.32. As I mentioned above, we do not find in the Gospels or in the apostolic letters, which specifically pertain to the revelation of the New Testament, any command that certain days are to be days of fast. Since this is one of the many things in the robe of the king's daughter—namely, the Church—concerning which it is difficult to be specific, I will relate to you what most blessed Ambrose,[c] the bishop of Milan by whom I was

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b. Manichaeism: a dualistic doctrine based on an ancient conflict between light and darkness, between good and evil, preached by Mani (ca. 216–76); his followers were found, for example, in Egypt, Rome, and Africa.

c. WEC 2:53.

4. See Gen 2:2–3. 5. Isa 26:20.

baptized, replied when I asked him about this matter. I was with my mother Monica in that city. Still a catechumen, I had little interest in this question. But for her it was of great concern whether she should follow the custom of her own city and fast on Saturday or follow that of Milan, which permitted the taking of food on this day. To relieve her anxiety, I put the question to the man of God. He said, "What more can I tell her other than what I do?" When I understood this to mean nothing other than a command to partake of food on Saturday since this was his practice, he continued and said, "When I am here, I do not fast on Saturday; when I am in Rome, I do fast. And when you arrive at any church whatever, follow its practice if you do not wish to scandalize or be scandalized." I passed on this response to my mother, who was satisfied with it. Nor did she hesitate to follow it, something I also do. But since it happens, and especially in Africa, that in one church or in the churches of a region there are some who eat on Saturdays and others who fast, it seems to me that the custom to be followed is that of those in charge of the congregation. Now if you are willing to accept my advice, especially because in this matter, in answer to your question and because of your insistence I have spoken more boldly than was called for, in this regard do not resist your bishop, and without any misgiving or debate follow what he does.

98-W-5. LETTER 41. TO AURELIUS[†a]

1. "Our mouth was filled with joy and our tongue with rejoicing"[1] when 2608
your letter informed us that you put into effect, with the help of God's inspiration, your holy intention concerning all our ordained brethren, and especially concerning the preaching of the presbyters to the people in your presence. [. . .]

98-W-6. LETTER 54. TO JANUARIUS[††a]

1.1. [. . .] Our Lord Jesus Christ, as he said in the Gospel, has subjected 2609
us to an easy yoke and to a light burden.[1] Therefore by the sacraments, which are few in number, most easy to obey, and outstanding in meaning, he has joined together the society of his new people; for example: baptism, celebrated in the name of the Trinity; the sharing of his Body and Blood; and whatever else is enjoined in the canonical Scriptures except for what burdened the people of old in accord with their hearts and the times of the prophets—these being found in the five books of Moses. However, the

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† Translated from CSEL 34.2:81–82.

a. This letter was written ca. 391.

1. Ps 126:2.

†† Translated from CSEL 34.2:159ff.

a. Januarius: a layman most probably living in Africa. This letter was written about 400.

1. See Matt 11:30.

things we observe that have been handed down even though not written and being observed throughout the whole world, these we understand to have been established and approved either by the apostles themselves or by plenary councils whose authority in the Church is most beneficial. Examples would be celebrating each year the Lord's passion and resurrection, his ascension into heaven, the Holy Spirit's descent from heaven, and whatever else is observed by the universal Church wherever it has spread.

2610 II.2. Other practices differ according to places and countries. For example, some fast on Saturdays whereas others do not; some receive in Communion the Lord's Body and Blood each day whereas others do so only on certain days; in some places no day passes without it [the Sacrifice] being offered; elsewhere it is only on Saturday and the Lord's Day, and still elsewhere only on the Lord's Day. As to these and other variable practices, nothing is better for thoughtful and prudent Christians than to do what they see being done by the church where they find themselves. For what is not proven to be contrary to faith or good morals is considered indifferent and is to be followed for the sake of good relations with those among whom you live.

2611 II.3. I believe you once heard this, but I will now relate it again. My mother Monica, having followed me to Milan, learned that the Milanese church did not observe the Saturday fast. She was disturbed and had doubts in regard to what she should do. Although at the time this was of no concern to me, it was on her behalf that I consulted about the matter with Ambrose of most blessed memory. He answered that all he could teach me was what he himself did because if he knew anything better he would abide by it himself. And when I presumed that he, by reason of his own authority alone, wanted to advise me not to fast on Saturday, he immediately said to me, "When I am in Rome, I fast on Saturday; when I am here, I do not. Now when you arrive at a church, follow its custom if you do not want to scandalize or be scandalized by another." When I related this to my mother, she gladly accepted it. As for me, I have frequently reflected on this opinion, which I received as if from a heavenly oracle.

2612 III.4. Suppose someone says that the Eucharist should not be received daily. You will ask, "Why is this?" "Because," one says, "we are to select those days on which we live more purely and with greater self-restraint in order to approach worthily so great a sacrament, for 'those who receive unworthily eat and drink judgment unto themselves.'"[2] Another answers just the opposite, "Surely if the wound of death and the onset of sickness are such that these remedies should be postponed, then by the bishop's authority one should be removed from the altar in order to do penance and by the same authority to be reconciled. For this is what it means to partake unworthily, namely, if a person were to receive [the Eucharist] at the time when he or she should be doing penance. It is not a matter of

2. 1 Cor 11:29.

one's own choosing to abstain from or to return to Communion as one so desires. But if one's sins are not so great as to require excommunication, then such persons should not separate themselves from the daily medicine of the Lord's Body." Perhaps someone else will settle this matter more correctly, reminding them that more than anything else they are to remain in the peace of Christ and that each should do what one believes to be his or her duty. Neither of them cherishes less the Lord's Body and Blood, but each eagerly strives to outdo the other in honoring the Lord's Body and Blood. [. . .] Some dare not to receive it each day, whereas others dare to do so each day, both acting out of respect. [. . .]

III.5. Suppose someone on a journey is in a place where the people, 2613
observing *Quadragesima*, customarily refrain from bathing on Thursday and do not continue to fast. "No," this person says, "I will not fast today." When asked the reason, the person replies, "Because this is not done in my country." Now what is this other than attempting to prefer one's own custom to that of another? For nothing can be read to me from God's book on this matter; nor can the case be argued by appealing to the full voice of the universal Church; neither can it be shown that others are acting contrary to the faith and that this person is acting in accord with it. Nor that what others are doing violates the best morality and that this individual is observing it. Clearly they violate their own peace and quiet by quarrelling over an unnecessary question. My advice in such matters is that whenever traveling in a foreign country do not refuse to do what is being done there. Or if you are visiting a foreign country where God's people are greater in number and gather more frequently and more fervently, and, for example, you see the sacrifice offered twice, both morning and evening, on Thursday of the last week in *Quadragesima*, then upon returning to your own country where it is customarily offered at the end of the day, do not argue that this is wrong and unlawful because you saw something different elsewhere. This is a childish feeling, one to be guarded against in ourselves, to be resisted and corrected among our own.

v.6. [. . .] You ask, "What should be done on Thursday during the last 2614
week of *Quadragesima*? Is the sacrifice to take place in the morning and again after the meal since it is written, 'Likewise after supper'?[3] Or are we to fast and then offer the sacrifice after supper? Or are we to fast and then eat after the sacrifice, something we ordinarily do?" My answer is that if the authority of the holy Scriptures has determined which of these three practices is to be followed, there would be no doubt that we should follow what has been written. In this case our discussion would not concern what we are to do but on how the mystery is to be understood. Likewise, if the universal Church would practice one of the three, there would be no room for discussion since it would be utterly foolish to discuss what we should

3. Luke 22:20.

do. But since the answer is found neither in the former nor in the latter, namely, neither in Scripture nor in universal practice, it is in the third category where the practice varies according to places and regions. Therefore let each one do what is being done in the church that is visited, for no such practice is contrary to faith or morals or is better than the other. Now if either faith or morals were in question, then we would have to change what is being done wrongly or we would have to initiate what was not being done at all. But to change a custom, even though this be advantageous, disturbs some by its novelty, and so what is not advantageous disturbs unnecessarily and consequently is harmful.

2615 v.7. It would be erroneous to believe that the custom arose in many places of offering the sacrifice on Holy Thursday after eating because of the words, "And likewise he took the cup after supper";[4] for Scripture could have designated as "supper" the meal when they had already received the Lord's Body, and that it was next when they received the cup, for as the apostle says elsewhere, "When you gather in one place is it not to eat the Lord's Body?"[5]— here the reception of the Eucharist itself not being called the Lord's Supper. As to whether we should on that day eat before either offering or receiving the Eucharist, this is what the Gospel says, "When they were eating, Jesus took bread and blessed it."[6] Earlier we read, "When evening came, he reclined with the Twelve and ate with them and said, 'One of you will betray me.'"[7] Afterwards he instituted the sacrament. And so it is clear that the disciples were not fasting when they received the Lord's Body and Blood for the first time.

2616 VI.8. Are we to criticize the universal Church since the Eucharist is always received while a person is fasting? From that time it pleased the Holy Spirit that the Lord's Body should enter the mouth of the Christian before any other food; accordingly, this custom is observed throughout the world. The Lord gave his Body and Blood after the meal, and yet this does not indicate that the brethren should gather to receive the sacrament after they have dined or eaten, or that they should follow the example of those who, confusing the two meals, were blamed or corrected by the apostles. For the Savior, in order to more fully commend the depth of this mystery, so desired to impress it upon the hearts and memory of the disciples that he made it his last action before leaving them to begin his passion. Therefore he did not command the sequence in which it was to be taken, this being left to the apostles through whom he would arrange everything pertaining to the churches. For had he directed that the Eucharist was to be received after other food, I believe that no one would have altered this practice. [. . .]

2617 VII.9. But for some, and their reasoning is plausible, on one day of the year, namely, the day on which the Lord instituted his Supper, it is permitted to offer and to receive the Lord's Body and Blood after they have

4. Luke 22:20; 1 Cor 11:25. 5. 1 Cor 11:20. 6. Matt 26:26. 7. Matt 26:20–21.

eaten so that commemoration be more recognizable. However, I think it would be more proper if the sacrifice would take place at such an hour so that those fasting may arrive for the offering after they have eaten, this being at the ninth hour. Wherefore, we do not compel anyone to eat before the Lord's Supper, nor do we dare censure those who do so. However, I believe this was instituted because many people—in numerous places almost all of them—are accustomed to bathe on this day. Because some continue to fast, the offering takes place in the morning since they cannot endure both fasting and the use of the bath; it is in the evening for the sake of those who are fasting.

VII.10. Now if you ask me about the origin of the custom of bathing on 2618
this day, when I think about it, nothing occurs to me as more likely except that the bodies of those to be baptized, unwashed and dirty throughout Lent, would offend the senses when they approached the font unless they washed themselves previously, on a day chosen because it celebrated the anniversary of the Lord's Supper. When this was granted to those who were about to be baptized, many others desired to join them by washing themselves and by breaking the fast. [. . .]

98-W-7. LETTER 55. TO JANUARIUS[†a]

I.2. You ask why the anniversary day on which the Lord's passion is 2619
celebrated does not fall on the same day each year as, according to tradition, is true for the day of his birth. You then add, "If it has to do with the Sabbath and the moon, then what significance do these have in this regard?" First, you should remember that the day of the Lord's birth is not celebrated as a mystery; it is only recalled in memory. And so it was not necessary that the return of the day on which Christ's birth occurred should be marked by an annual festival. A celebration is sacramental only when what is recalled is so carried out that we understand that something else is signified, something that is to be reverently received. In this way we observe the Pasch, recalling not only what took place, namely, that Christ died for our sins and rose, but also to find a place for the other things that pertain to the Pasch and bear witness to the meaning of the mystery. Since, as the apostle says, "He died because of our sins and rose for our justification,"[1] a certain passing over from death to life is consecrated in the Lord's passion and resurrection.

The word *pascha* is not Greek as is commonly believed; those acquainted 2620
with both languages say it is Hebrew, not derived from the Greek word *paschein* meaning "to suffer" but from "to pass over" from death to life according to the meaning of the Hebrew word, as those familiar with these

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† Translated from CSEL 34.2:170ff.

a. This letter continues Augustine's reply to Januarius, which began in Letter 54 (WEC 3:**98-W-6**).

1. Rom 4:25.

things can attest. The Lord wished to imply this when he said, "Whoever believes in me will pass from death to life."[2] The same evangelist surely wanted to stress this when he—speaking of the Lord who was about to celebrate the Pasch with his disciples and who gave them the sacramental meal—says, "When Jesus saw that the hour had come for him to pass from this world to the Father."[3] Consequently to pass from this mortal life to another life, one that is immortal, is designated in the Lord's passion and resurrection.

2621 IX.16. Let us now see why when we celebrate the Pasch we take care that it includes Saturday. This is unique to the Christian religion. The Jews take into consideration only the first month, the new moon from the fourteenth to the twenty-first. Yet at the Passover when the Lord suffered, one day—namely, the Jewish Sabbath—intervened between his death and resurrection. Our ancestors believed that this day should be added so that our festivity might be distinguished from that of the Jews. [. . .]

2622 XV.27. By the authority of the Holy Scriptures and by the agreement of the universal Church these things, as you know, are celebrated each year at Easter in such a great mystery. Certainly there is no Old Testament commandment as to the precise time for observing the Pasch, only that it be celebrated between the fourteenth and the twenty-first of the first month. From the Gospel, however, it is clear on which days the Lord was crucified, was in the tomb, and arose. The observance of these days was linked together by the councils of the fathers, and so the whole Christian world has been persuaded that the Pasch is to be celebrated in this way.

2623 XV.28. The forty day fast receives its authority from the Old Testament, from the fast of Moses[4] and Elijah,[5] and from the Gospel in which we read that the Lord fasted the same number of days,[6] thus showing that the Gospel does not differ from the Law and the prophets. The Law is represented in the person of Moses, the prophets in the person of Elias; between them our Lord appeared in glory on the mountain[7] so that what the apostle said of him might be more evident, "he was testified to by the Law and the prophets."[8] Now in what part of the year would the observance of the forty days be better held unless near and adjacent to the Lord's passion? The fast signifies this toilsome life for which self-control is needed so that we might abstain from friendship with the world, a friendship that never ceases to deceitfully flatter us. It is, to be sure, a friendship that scatters and spreads around us its beguiling pretenses. [. . .] We celebrate the season of the fifty days after the Lord's resurrection as representing not labor but rest and happiness. For this reason the fast is halted. For this reason we pray while standing, a posture indicating the resurrection. So on all Sundays this usage is observed at the altar. Furthermore, the Alleluia is sung. This shows that our future activity will consist only in praising God,

2. John 5:24. 3. John 13:1. 4. See Exod 34:28. 5. See 1 Kgs 19:8. 6. See Matt 4:2. 7. See Matt 17:2–5. 8. Rom 3:21.

as is written, "Blessed are those who dwell in your house; they will praise you forever."[9]

XVII.32. The observance of Easter and Pentecost is most firmly commended by the Scriptures. Observing the forty days before Easter is confirmed by the agreement of the Church; in like manner the eight days of the neophytes [the newly baptized] are distinct from the others, that is, so that the eighth day coincides with the first. The practice of singing the Alleluia only during the time of Pentecost is not universally observed; elsewhere the Alleluia is sung also on other days, but during Pentecost it is universally sung. On these days and on all Sundays we pray standing; yet I do not know whether this is done all over. However, what the Church follows in this, I have related to you as best I can, and, I believe, what I said is clear. 2624

XVIII.33. As to the washing of the feet—as the Lord later explained, it is recommended as a sign of the humility he came to teach—the question is at what time is such a great lesson best taught by this action; recommended is this time [Lent] during which its teaching is more religiously suited. Many have not accepted this washing as a custom, for they do not want the washing to appear as belonging to the sacrament of baptism itself; others did not hesitate to revoke it as a custom; still others, in order to place it apart and distinguish it from the sacrament of baptism, chose to have it on the octave day or on the third day of the octave because of the special meaning the number three has in many of the mysteries. 2625

XVIII.34. Your request that I write something about the different things observed in various places somewhat surprises me since it is not necessary that you know all this. There is also a useful rule to be followed here. It concerns practices not contrary to faith or good morals and having something to contribute to a better life, wherever we see them established or know that they have been established. Not only do we not disapprove of these but eagerly follow them by praising and imitating them unless, due to the weakness of others, we fear that by doing so we cause more harm than good. We should not, however, be deterred from doing this unless a greater good results from our agreeing with those who favor such a practice, but then we run the risk of displeasing those who are against it. This is especially true in regard to what can be defended on the basis of the Scriptures, for example, the singing of hymns and psalms; here we have the example and command of the Lord and the apostles. In regard to this practice, which is useful for piously rousing the mind and igniting the power of God's love, custom varies. In Africa the members of the Church somewhat lack enthusiasm in this regard; consequently the Donatists[b] 2626

b. Donatists: a schismatic Christian group in Africa whose members emphasized the Church as being one holy body, and who rejected sacraments celebrated by those outside Donatism.

9. Ps 84:4.

reproach us because it is with restraint that we sing in church the divine canticles of the prophets; they, on the other hand, incite their intoxications by singing humanly composed pieces as if to the stirring blast of trumpets. But once the people are gathered in the church, is any time more fitting for the singing of holy songs except while someone is reading or teaching or while the presider is praying aloud or while the deacon is calling for common prayer?

2627 XVIII.35. At other times and when nothing else is happening, I do not see what could be a better, more useful, and holy activity for the Christian assembly. [. . .]

98-W-8. LETTER 64. TO QUINTIANUS†[a]

2628 III. [. . .] Do not harm the Church by reading in the assembly of the people those Scriptures not accepted by the ecclesiastical canon. Using such readings, the heretics, and especially the Manichaeans[b]—whom, as I hear, are openly harbored in your area—are accustomed to lead astray those who are not learned. [. . .] I am astonished that someone can be appointed as a reader who has read only once in public, and who has read the noncanonical Scriptures. If because of this he is considered to be an ecclesiastical reader, then what has been read is considered to be ecclesiastical; if, however, these writings are not ecclesiastical, no matter who reads them in church, then such a person is not an ecclesiastical reader. [. . .]

98-W-9. LETTER 71. TO JEROME††[a]

2629 III.5. There was a bishop, one of our brethren, who introduced into his church the reading of your translation of the Scriptures. Reading from the prophet Jonah he chanced upon a passage that you translated quite differently from what was long embedded in the senses and memories of all who were present, different from what was chanted by so many generations. There was such a great uproar in the congregation, especially among the Greeks who were complaining and accusing the translation as being false. And so the bishop—it was in the town of Oea[b]—had to ask the Jews for their opinion. These, whether from ignorance or malice, responded that what was found in the Hebrew books was correct in the

† Translated from CSEL 34.2:230.

a. Quintianus: a priest of Carthage. This letter was written soon after Christmas 401.

b. Manichaeans: those espousing a dualistic doctrine based on an ancient conflict between light and darkness, between good and evil, preached by Mani (ca. 216–76); his followers are found, for example, in Egypt, Rome, and Africa.

†† Translated from CSEL 34.2:252.

a. Jerome: the great biblical scholar and teacher (WEC 3:145). This letter was perhaps written in 403.

b. Oea: today the city of Tripoli in Lybia.

Greek and in the Latin taken from it. What more can I say? The man was forced to correct your presumably mistranslated word, wishing not to remain without a congregation, something he narrowly avoided. And so it seems to us that in some cases you also could have been mistaken. [. . .]

98-W-10. LETTER 82. TO JEROME[†a]

XIV. [. . .] I would like You to instruct me as to whether a holy person coming from the east would be guilty of pretense if, upon arriving in Rome, he or she fasted on each Saturday except on the day when the Easter Vigil is held. Now if we say that this fasting is wrong, we will condemn not only the Roman church but also many other churches, both those close by and those somewhat far off where this same custom is followed and continues. If, however, we should judge it wrong not to fast on Saturday, then how rashly do we reproach so many churches in the East and those in a large part of the Christian world! [. . .] 2630

98-W-11. LETTER 98. TO BONIFACE[††a]

II. An infant brought to be made holy through baptism can be reborn by the action of another's will; this is done through the one Spirit by whom the infant is reborn. It is not written, "Unless one is reborn from the will of the parents or by the faith of the sponsors or of those doing the baptism," but, "Unless one is reborn of water and the Spirit."[1] Water is an outward sign of grace; the Spirit, working internally and giving the benefit of grace, breaks the bond of sin, restores natural goodness, and brings about rebirth in the one Christ to the person born from the one Adam. Consequently, the regenerating Spirit is common both to the parents who present the infant and to the infant who has been presented and is reborn. [. . .] Thus a child, born from the flesh of its parents, can be reborn by the Spirit of God so that the bond of sin contracted from them is cancelled. But a child, having once received the grace of Christ, can lose it only by its own sinfulness if later on in life it turns bad. For then the child will have its own sins, sins not removed by being reborn but needing to be cured through other means. 2631

V. [. . .] Children are presented for receiving spiritual grace not so much from those whose hands carry them—although from these if they are good and faithful—as from the whole community of the holy and faithful. It is correctly understood that the children are brought by all who agree to the children being presented and through whose holy and personal love they 2632

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† Translated from CSEL 34.2:364.

a. This letter was written in 404/405.

†† Translated from CSEL 34.2:521ff.

a. Boniface: bishop of Catapua in Numidia (northern Africa); this letter was written sometime between 408 and 413.

1. John 3:5.

are assisted in receiving the Holy Spirit. The whole Church, our mother, which exists in the holy ones, presents thèm because the whole Church gives birth to each of its members. [. . .]

2633 VI. [. . .] You notice that many children are not presented for baptism by their parents but by various others just as the children of slaves are sometimes brought by their masters. And every now and again when the parents have died, their children are brought to be baptized by those who by doing so are able to show compassion toward them. Also, there are the children who have been cruelly abandoned so that they might be raised by others, at times by holy virgins who present them for baptism, virgins who neither have had nor contemplate having children of their own. [. . .]

2634 VII. [. . .] When parents present their children for baptism, do they not act as sponsors [*fidedictores*] and respond on their behalf? Do they not state that the children will do something which at present they are incapable of even understanding, or, even if they can believe that their thoughts in this regard are hidden? For we interrogate those who present the children and ask, "Does this one believe in God?" Now even though the child at such an age does not know whether God exists, the parents reply, "He or she believes." In like manner answers are given to each of the other questions. [. . .]

2635 IX. When the Pasch is drawing near, we often say in ordinary speech that we will celebrate the Lord's passion tomorrow or on the day after. We do this even though the Lord suffered many years ago, doing so only once. Certainly on the Lord's Day we say, "Today the Lord has risen" even though any number of years have passed since he did so. Is anyone so foolish as to accuse us of lying when we speak in this fashion because we name these days according to their resemblance to the days on which the events themselves actually occurred? Even though it is not the very same day when something happened, it is like this day in regard to the passage of time; we say that the event itself occurred on such a day because of the celebration of the mystery, even though the event itself took place much earlier. Was Christ not immolated only once in his person and yet is sacrificed in the mystery for the people not only during all the paschal solemnities but every day? Does a person, upon being questioned, lie when responding that Christ is being sacrificed? For if the sacraments do not bear a certain likeness to the events of which they are the sacraments, certainly they would not be sacraments. It is from this likeness that they generally receive their names. Therefore just as in a certain way the sacrament of Christ's Body is the body of Christ, and the sacrament of Christ's Blood is the blood of Christ, so the sacrament of faith is faith. To believe is nothing other than to have faith. This is why when on behalf of a child not yet possessing the disposition of faith the answer is given that the child believes; this means that he or she believes because of the sacrament of faith, and that the child is converted to God because of the sacrament of conversion; the very response here also pertains to the celebration of the

sacrament, as the apostle wrote in regard to baptism, "We are buried with Christ through baptism unto death."[2] The apostle does not say, "We have signified being buried," but "We are buried with." Therefore in naming a sacrament of such a great reality, he used a word that describes the reality itself.

98-W-12. LETTER 149. TO PAULINUS[†a]

11.12. It is clearly most difficult to make distinctions in Paul's writing 2636
to Timothy where Paul says, "First of all I desire that there be entreaties, prayers, intercessions, and thanksgivings."[1] In Greek these words can be distinguished one from another, and there are few translators among us who are careful enough to render them correctly and wisely. Here is how you quoted Paul: "I beg [*obsecro*] that entreaties [*obsecrationes*] be made." Yet the apostle, writing in Greek, did not use the same word, for instead of the Latin *obsecro* [I beg] he used the Greek *parakalo* [I urge]. And where our Latin has *obsecrationes* [entreaties], the apostle used *deēsis* [petitions]. Other manuscripts, including our own, have *deprecationes* [petitions] rather than *obsecrationes* [entreaties]. Most Latin manuscripts have the following three words: *orationes* [prayers], *interpellationes* [intercessions], and *gratiarum actiones* [thanksgivings].

11.13. Should we try to discern these specific meanings according to the 2637
idioms of the Latin language, we will insist on what we know, such as it is. Yet I will be surprised if we hold strictly to the meaning and usage of the Greek way of speaking. Many among us believe that *precatio* [prayer] and *deprecatio* [petition] have the same meaning, and that this is generally true in common usage. Those who speak Latin with more precision use the word *precatio* [prayer] when requesting good things; they use the word *deprecatio* [petition] when asking that evil be averted. They say that *precari* [to pray] means to request good things by praying and that *imprecari* [to imprecate], which in common speech means *maledicere* [to curse], signifies warding off evil through prayer. But may we rather follow present-day usage. Whether we have *precationes* [prayers] or *deprecationes* [petitions], which the Greeks call *deēseis*, let us not believe we have to make a correction. Truly it is very difficult to distinguish what we call *orationes* [orations], known by the Greeks as *proseuchas*, from *preces* [prayers] or *precationes* [petitions]. That some manuscripts do not have *orationes* [orations] but *adorationes* [adorations] because the Greek does not have *euchas* but *proseuchas* should, I believe, be considered a weak translation since it

2. Rom 6:4.

† Translated from *S. Aureli Augustini Hipponiensis Episcopi Epistulae*, vol. 3, ed. A. Goldbacher, CSEL 44 (Vienna, 1904) 359–63.

a. Paulinus (WEC 3:110): the bishop of Nola, a town located east of Naples. This letter was written toward the end of 416.

1. 1 Tim 2:1.

is generally known that *proseuchas* is the Greek for *orationes* [orations]. Certainly to pray is different from to adore. And so in Greek we do not find this verb but another where we read, *You will adore the Lord your God*,[2] and *I will adore at your holy temple*,[3] and the like.

2638 II.14. Where our manuscripts have the word *interpellationes* [intercessions], your manuscripts have, I believe, *postulationes* [petitions]. What in Greek is one word, namely, *enteureis* [intercessions], has been translated in one of two ways: by some as *postulationes* [petitions] and by others as *interpellationes* [intercessions]. As you certainly know, *interpellare* [to intercede] is different from *postulare* [to petition]. For we do not usually say, "They intercede to petition," but "They petition to intercede." Yet when we use a word with a closely allied meaning, one that aids understanding, we should not find fault with this. Scripture says that our Lord Jesus Christ *intercedes for us*.[4] Can he really intercede for us and not also petition on our behalf? Surely the word "intercession" was used because he petitions. This is clearly stated of him elsewhere, "If anyone sin, we have an advocate with the Father, the just Jesus Christ; he intercedes for us on behalf of our sins."[5] Perhaps your manuscripts in that section concerning the Lord Jesus do not have "intercedes for us" but rather "petitions for us." Yet the Greek word here translated as "intercessions" and which you have quoted as "petitions" is the same word found elsewhere where Scripture says, "He intercedes for us."

2639 II.15. Since the person who petitions prays, and since the person who prays also petitions, and since the person who intercedes with God does so in order to pray and petition, what does the apostle mean when he employs these terms in such a way that we cannot overlook a difference of meaning? Now if you exclude a word's general meaning and follow the usual manner of speaking, one and the same thing is understood whether you use the word *precatio* or *oratio*, whether *interpellatio* or *postulatio*. If you want to look for a special meaning for each of these actions, you will find it difficult to do so with any precision. Much can be said here concerning which there can be no objection.

2640 II.16. For me, I prefer to understand these words as does the whole Church, or almost the whole Church: *precationes* being the prayers we offer in celebrating the mysteries before what is on the Lord's table is blessed; *orationes* are the prayers said when the offerings are blessed, sanctified, and broken to be shared; and almost every church concludes this whole petition with the Lord's Prayer. The origin of the Greek word helps us understand this: Scripture rarely employs the word *euchē* to mean "prayer"; but usually and much more often a "vow" is called *euchē*, and *prosauchē*, the word used in the section we are considering, is always called "prayer." As mentioned earlier, some of the less learned, looking at *proseuchē*, insist on translating it not as *oratio* [prayer] but as *adoratio*

2. Matt 4:10. 3. Ps 5:7. 4. Rom 8:34. 5. 1 John 2:1–2.

[adoration] which in Greek is more often *proskunēsis*. But since *oratio* [prayer] is sometimes called *euchē* in Greek, *proseuchē* was considered to be "adoration." Yet, as I said, if Scripture usually employs the word *euchē* to designate a *votum* [vow], and if we understand *oratio* in its general meaning as "prayer," then what is said when we offer what is vowed is more aptly called "prayer," namely, *prossuchē*. All that is offered to God is offered as a vow, especially the sacrifice of the holy altar since this sacrament shows forth our greatest vow by which we pledge to remain in Christ, to remain within the Body of Christ. The outward sign here is that we, being many, are one bread, one body.[6] Therefore at the sanctification and at the preparation for distribution, the apostle has properly desired that *proseucha*, that is, *orationes* [prayers], be offered or, as some of the less learned have translated it, *adorationes* [adorations]. This means "as a vow," which Scripture more customarily calls *euchē*. *Interpellationes* [intercessions], however, or *postulationes* [petitions] according to your manuscripts—occur when the people are blessed. For then the bishops, as advocates and by the imposition of the hand, offer those under their protection to the most merciful Power. When these things have been completed and when all have shared in such a great sacrament, the "thanksgiving" concludes everything, "thanksgiving" being the word the apostle recommended to us last.

98-W-13. LETTER 153. TO MACEDONIUS[†a]

III.6. As to those whose sins are public, once they have been freed from your severe sentence, we remove them from the fellowship of the altar so that by doing penance and by punishing themselves they might be able to placate him whom they have despised by their sins. Those who truly repent do nothing other than not allowing the evil they have done go unpunished. [. . .] 2641

III.7. Evil, however, at times makes such advances among people that even after they have done penance and after they have been readmitted to the altar, they commit either similar sins or more serious ones. Yet God sees to it that the sun rises upon them,[1] giving them no less than previously the most lavish gifts of life and health. Although that same opportunity of penance is not again granted in the Church, God, however, has not forgotten to be patient with them. [. . .] It may be a very careful and wholesome provision that an opportunity for humble penance is given only once in the Church so that this medicine, becoming common, be less profitable for those who are weak; now it is more effective in that it is held in greater respect. [. . .] 2642

6. See 1 Cor 10:17.

† Translated from CSEL 44:401–3.

a. Macedonius: a civil official in Africa; this letter was written in 413/414.

1. See Matt 5:45.

98-W-14. LETTER 158. EVODIUS TO AUGUSTINE[†a]

2643 II. He [the son of Armenus of Melonita] desired to "depart and to be with Christ,"[1] something that was granted to him. For sixteen days he was sick at his parents' house. [. . .] When death was approaching, he began to sign himself on the forehead and then while he was lowering his hand to do the same on his mouth, his soul, which had truly been daily renewed, left the house of clay.[2] [. . .] We provided funeral rites that were sufficiently respectful and fitting for such a great soul; for three days we joined together in praising the Lord through hymns, and on the third day we offered the sacraments of Redemption.

98-W-15. LETTER 185. TO BONIFACE[††a]

2644 X.45. Although the Church determined that no one, after doing penance for a serious sin, should be received among the clergy or should return to or remain in the clerical state, this was not done out of any despair of being forgiven but for strict disciplinary reasons. Otherwise, there will be an argument against the keys given to the Church, the keys concerning which we read, "Whatever you loose on earth will be loosed in heaven."[1] Yet it could happen that after sins are detected, a heart puffed up by hope for ecclesiastical advancement might undergo penance in a spirit of pride. Thus it was decided that a person who did penance for serious sin could not become a member of the clergy so that, all hope of ecclesiastical honor being removed, the remedy of humility might be greater and more true. Nonetheless, holy David did penance for his serious sins and continued to retain his honorable rank.[2] And blessed Peter, having wept bitterly and repenting for having denied the Lord, continued to remain an apostle.[3] But we should not think that the care taken in later times was unprofitable. Salvation not being diminished, something was added to humility. [. . .]

98-W-16. LETTER 211. TO A CONVENT OF CONSECRATED VIRGINS

This letter contains the text of what is called the Rule of Saint Augustine. See WEC 3:98-V.

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† Translated from CSEL 44:489–90.

a. Evodius (d. after 424): the bishop of Usalis in Africa; this letter was written in 414/415.

1. Phil 1:23. 2. See Job 4:19.

†† Translated from *S. Aureli Augustini Hipponiensis Episcopi Epistulae*, vol. 4, ed. A. Goldbacher, CSEL 57 (Vienna, 1911) 39.

a. Boniface: a Roman presbyter who was to become the bishop of Rome 418–22; this letter was written in 417.

1. Matt 16:19; 18:18. 2. See 2 Sam 12:1–20; 24:17. 3. See Matt 26:69–75; Mark 14:66–72; Luke 22:55–62.

98-W-17. LETTER 228. TO HONORATUS[†a]

VIII. Do we not recall [. . .] how such a great assembly of people, both male and female and of all ages, is accustomed to gather in the church, with some earnestly requesting baptism, others reconciliation, and still others asking to do penance, all seeking consolation and strength through the celebration of the sacraments? Now if ministers are not present, how great is the ruin that attends those who leave this life being neither reborn nor freed from their sins? Furthermore, how great is the sorrow of the other faithful who will not share eternal life with them! [. . .] Yet if ministers are present, assistance is given to all by virtue of the power of the Lord: some are baptized, some are reconciled; none are deprived of sharing the Lord's Body; all are consoled, edified, and urged to petition God. [. . .] 2645

98-W-18. LETTER 258. TO MARCIANUS[††a]

V. That this may be so, I urge your Gravity and Prudence to receive the sacraments of the faithful; this is proper for someone your age and is, I believe, fitting for the way you are living. Recall what you said to me when I was about to depart. You quoted a line from a comedy by Terence which is most useful and fitting: "This day, beginning another life, requires a new way of acting."[b] Now if you were truthful in saying this, and I have no reason to doubt otherwise, you are already leading a life that renders you worthy to receive the forgiveness of sins by means of saving baptism. [. . .] I desire to learn that you have enrolled or are soon to enroll among the *competentes*. [. . .] 2646

98-W-19. LETTER 265. TO SELEUCIANA[†††a]

II. When it is said that Peter did penance, we must take care not to confuse Peter's penance with what is done by those who are properly called penitents today. Who could endure our believing that the first of the apostles is counted among such penitents? [. . .] 2647

IV. [. . .] When we read that some members of Christ's body, which is the Church,[1] belong to the kingdom of heaven, we should understand 2648

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† Translated from CSEL 57:490–91.

a. Honoratus: a friend of Augustine whom Augustine tried to convert from Manichaeism; this letter was written in 429.

†† Translated from *S. Aureli Augustini Hipponiensis Episcopi Epistuale*, vol. 5, ed. A. Goldbacher, CSEL 58 (Vienna, 1923) 609.

a. Marcianus: known only as an early friend of Augustine.

b. Terence, *Andria*, 189.

††† Translated from CSEL 58:639ff.

a. Seleuciana: perhaps a widow or some type of consecrated virgin.

1. See Col 1:24.

this as applying only to those who have been baptized, except perhaps also to those who, afflicted by great suffering and not desiring to deny Christ, were killed before being baptized. Here suffering substitutes for baptism. [. . .]

2649 VI. What you wrote in your letter, namely, that he [Novatian[b]] believes that the apostles gave penance rather than baptism, is not clearly expressed. For if by "rather than baptism" he means that sins are remitted through penance, then he is somewhat correct in what he says. Such penance can be useful if one has sinned after being baptized. Yet he denies that penance can take place after baptism since he says, as you have written, that penance can only occur before baptism. And so when we understand him as saying that the apostles gave penance "rather than baptism," he intends to say that they gave it before baptism, and that those to whom it was given were not afterwards baptized because for them penance took the place of baptism, something I have never heard any Novatian say. [. . .]

2650 VII. People do penance before baptism for their past sins so that they may also be baptized, as is written in the Acts of the Apostles when Peter told the Jews, "Do penance and may each of you be baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and your sins will be forgiven you."[2] People also do penance if after baptism they sin so as to merit excommunication and afterwards reconciliation, as they do in all the churches; these are properly known as penitents. [. . .]

2651 VIII. There is also the penance performed almost daily by the good and humble members of the faithful; here we strike the breast while saying, "Forgive us our sins as we forgive those who sin against us."[3] We do not wish to be forgiven for what we certainly know was forgiven in baptism; and yet we desire forgiveness for those sins which, although small, frequently crawl their way into our human weakness and which, if gathered together against us, would so weigh us down and oppress us as one great sin would do. What difference does it make to a shipwrecked person whether the ship is submerged and destroyed by one large wave, or whether the water gradually creeps into the hold and through negligence is disregarded and thought little about so that the water fills up and sinks the ship? This is why we stand guard by means of fasting, almsgiving, and prayer. When we pray, "Forgive us our sins as we forgive those who sin against us,"[4] we show that we have sins to be forgiven, and by these words we humble our souls and do not cease to do what can be called daily penance. [. . .]

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b. Novatian (d. 257/258): a Roman presbyter who was disappointed by the election in 251 of Cornelius as bishop of Rome; he joined a highly rigorist faction and became a rival of Cornelius.

2. Acts 2:38. 3. Matt 6:12; Luke 11:4. 4. Ibid.

98-W-20. LETTER 28. TO NOVATUS[†a]

II. [. . .] Unless I am mistaken, I recall once writing that these minutes 2652
[of the Council of Carthage in 411] were to be solemnly read annually during Lent when those fasting would have time to listen. This is zealously done by the church at Carthage, by our church, and by other churches. Would that this custom be followed throughout all Africa. We have also written a book concerning these minutes. Once the minutes are read, my book is read and the people listen with the greatest pleasure. If you do not yet have a copy of my book, you really should obtain it.

III. Among us these readings are not read from the step [*gradus*] used by 2653
the reader for the canonical Scriptures which are rightly read from such a place; the readers read the minutes and my book without taking off their albs [*casulae*] and sitting when they wish, doing so where those desiring to sit can easily hear them as if this were all taking place privately at home. Yet it occurs in church where many people of both sexes can listen till the hour when the divine readings are heard and the mysteries are customarily celebrated.

98-X. Sermons

Augustine was not only a gifted but also a prolific speaker, regularly preaching at least twice a week and at times even more than once a day. A number of his sermons are actually books in themselves; others have been grouped together under special titles, for example, his *Exposition of the Psalms*. Still others appear under the simple heading "Sermons." It is the latter that are quoted here.

Although one may surmise that most of Augustine's "sermons" are no longer extant, it has been estimated that well over a thousand compositions attributed to him have been published, many unfortunately being unauthentic or doubtful. One of the earliest collections of these pieces is that of the French Benedictines of St. Maur, whose edition contains 363 sermons. Subsequently other sermons and collections of sermons have been published.[a]

Scholars believe that some of the texts that have come down to us are the result of various scribes or *notarii* transcribing Augustine's preaching.[b]

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† Translated from *Epistolae ex Duobus Codicibus Nuper in Lucem Prolatae*, ed. J. Divjak, CSEL 88 (Vienna, 1981) 134–35. The enumeration "28" is also according to this volume.

a. Novatus: the bishop of Sitifis, which is now Sétif in Algeria. This letter was written ca. 418.

a. Awaited is a critical edition of all Augustine's sermons, a work that began with CCL 41.

b. The enumeration followed below and the date of each sermon's delivery are generally those found either in *Augustine through the Ages: An Encyclopedia*, ed. A. Fitzgerald (Grand Rapids, 1999) or in *The Works of Saint Augustine: A Translation for the 21st Century*, Part 3: Sermons, vols. 1–11, ed. J.E. Rotelle (New York, 1990–2005).

98-X-1. SERMON 17. ON PSALM 49:5[†a]

2654 V. [. . .] We have sinned; let us reform. Life has not yet ended; the day has not yet come to a close; death has not yet occurred. Do not despair—this would be even worse—because for these human and bearable sins, being as frequent as they are less serious, God has established in the Church times for requesting mercy, for daily medicine, when we say, "Forgive us our sins as we forgive those who have sinned against us."[1] With faces washed by these words, let us approach the altar so that with clean faces we might share in the Body and Blood of Christ.

98-X-2. SERMON 49. ON MICAH 6:6–8[††a]

2655 VIII. The catechumens were dismissed after the sermon. The faithful remained. [. . .]

98-X-3. SERMON 51. ON THE AGREEMENT OF MATTHEW AND LUKE REGARDING THE LORD'S GENEALOGY[†††a]

2656 I. [. . .] Beloved, you remember how in the morning of the Lord's birth I postponed solving the question that I proposed. I did so because many people had joined us for the obligatory celebration of that day even though the word of God usually bores them. But now, as I believe, only those who desire to hear this word have gathered. Consequently we speak not to inattentive hearts, not to disdainful souls. For me your anticipation is a prayer. There is more. The day of the public games has scattered many from here. [. . .]

98-X-4. SERMON 56. ON MATTHEW 6:7–13[††††a]

2657 VII.11. [. . .] We have been baptized, and yet we are debtors. Not because we still possess what was forgiven in baptism but because, as we continue to live, we contract what is to be daily forgiven. Those who are baptized and die ascend from the font without debt, leave without debt. Those who are baptized and remain here on earth contract by reason of their human weakness something whereby, even if one is not shipwrecked, there is need to pump out the water; if this does not happen,

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† Translated from *Sermones de Vetere Testamento* . . ., ed. C. Lambot, CCL 41 (Turnhout, 1961) 241.

a. Enumeration according to the Greek.

1. Matt 6:12.

†† Translated from CCL 41:620.

a. This sermon was given at Carthage in 418 on a Sunday and at the site of Cyprian's execution.

††† Translated from PL 38:333.

a. This sermon was preached in 418.

†††† Translated from PL 38:382.

a. This sermon was given a week before Easter, sometime between 410 and 412.

then little by little the water enters and sinks the ship. To pump out the water is to pray this prayer. However, we should not only pray but also bestow alms: when we pump out the water we work with our hands together with our voices. We utilize our voices when we say, "Forgive us our sins as we forgive those who sin against us."[1] We use our hands when we do this: "Break your bread for the hungry and take into your home the homeless person."[2] "Shut up alms in the heart of those who are poor, and they will pray for you to the Lord."[3]

98-X-5. SERMON 57. ON MATTHEW 6:9, 13[†a]

VII. [. . .] The faithful are well aware that there is also a spiritual food, 2658
which you also will know and will receive from God's altar. It will be the daily bread so necessary for this life. Will we receive the Eucharist when we come to Christ and begin to rule with him forever? Therefore the Eucharist is our daily bread; but let us receive it so that not only our stomach but also our soul is refreshed, for the power we find there is unity: gathered together into his Body, we are made his members; we are what we receive. Then it indeed becomes our daily bread. And what I am handing over to you is daily bread; and the readings you hear each day in church are daily bread; also the hymns that you hear and sing. These are necessary as we journey on. [. . .]

98-X-6. SERMON 58. ON MATTHEW 6:9–15[††a]

I. You have already recited back the creed [*symbolum*] which sum- 2659
marizes all that we believe. [. . .] So also imprint this prayer [the Lord's Prayer] upon your minds since you will recite it back within a week. As to those of you who failed to do well when reciting back the creed, you still have time to learn it by heart because on Saturday, in the presence of all who will be listening, you will recite it back, namely, on the Saturday when you will be baptized. A week from today you will give back the prayer [the Lord's Prayer] which you have received today.

XII. [. . .] After you have been baptized, you are to say this prayer [the 2660
Lord's Prayer] every day. It is said daily at God's altar and the faithful listen to it. And so I have no fear that you will not remember it word for word because whoever among you cannot do this perfectly will eventually do so by hearing it each day.

XIII. On Saturday when by God's goodness we will keep vigil, you will 2661
repeat back the creed, not the Lord's Prayer. For unless you know the

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1. Matt 6:12. 2. Isa 58:7. 3. Sir 29:15, Vulgate.

† Translated from PL 38:389.

a. This sermon was given a week before Easter, sometime between 410 and 412.

†† Translated from PL 38:393, 399.

a. This sermon was given between 412 and 416 and sometime before the Easter Vigil.

creed well, you do not hear it said every day by the people in church. So once you have learned it, say it each day so that you do not forget it; say it when you rise, when you prepare for sleep; return the creed, return it to the Lord. [. . .]

98-X-7. SERMON 67. ON THE WORDS OF MATTHEW'S GOSPEL 11:25[†a]

2662 I. As the Gospel was being read, we heard the Lord Jesus, rejoicing in the Spirit, say, "Father, Lord of heaven and earth, I confess to you, for you have hidden these things from the wise and the prudent and have revealed them to the childlike."[1] Let us now piously consider these words of the Lord, doing so as is proper and with diligence. When we hear the word "confession" in the Scriptures, we should not necessarily understand this to be the confession of a sinner. There is a special reason for reminding you of this since as soon as the words "I confess" were said by the reader, there followed the sound of you striking your breast upon hearing the Lord saying, "Father, I confess to you." You beat your breast at the word "confess." Now what does it mean to "beat the breast" other than to show what lies hidden in the heart and to reprove hidden sin by a visible gesture? Now why did you do this except that you heard, "Father, I confess to you"? You heard "I confess" but did not consider who it is that confesses. So now pay attention. If Christ said *I confess*—Christ who is sinless—then confession is not a word used only by the sinner but also at times by the one who offers praise. Therefore when we say "We confess," we are either praising God or accusing our very selves. Religious is each confession, either when you blame yourself, you who are not sinless, or when you praise him who cannot sin.

98-X-8. SERMON 94 A. ON THE TEXT "THE TIMES ARE FULFILLED AND . . ."[††a]

2663 III. [. . .] I presume that every person in this assembly who is listening to me believes in the Gospel. There are also many listeners who have not as yet become members of the faithful through baptism; they remain catechumens, not yet born but already conceived. And yet when or how would they have been conceived in mother Church's womb unless they had been signed with some sacrament of faith? [. . .]

2664 IV. [. . .] If you desire to become a member of the faithful, repent! Those approaching baptism come by way of penance, for unless they reprove their old way of life through repentance, they will be unable to arrive at a new life by being enrolled among the *competentes*. [. . .] As you have

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† Translated from PL 38:433.

a. This sermon was given after 400, perhaps in 412.

1. Matt 11:25.

†† Translated from PLS 2:424–27.

a. This sermon was given in the summer of 397.

heard, [the people on Pentecost], being not yet baptized, were instructed to come to baptism by means of repentance. So it is that I say the same to the catechumens. [. . .]

98-X-9. SERMON 125. ON JOHN, CHAPTER 5[†a]

IX. [. . .] And so we fast forty days before the Pasch. This is a sign of 2665
our burdensome life where in labor, hardship, and self-restraint we fulfill the Law. After the Pasch, however, we celebrate the days of the Lord's resurrection, a season signifying our own resurrection. Fifty days are celebrated because a denarius is added as a reward to the forty, this equalling fifty. Why a denarius as a reward? Have you not read that those who were brought into the vineyard, whether at the first hour, the sixth hour, or at the last hour, could receive only a denarius?[1] We arrive at the number fifty when a reward is added to what we deserve. For then we will be able to do nothing other than to praise God. We will sing Alleluia throughout these days, for Alleluia means praise of God. In this our mortal weakness, during this time of forty days, as if before the resurrection, may we lament with prayers so that in the future we may give praise. Now is the time of longing; then will be the time to embrace and enjoy. May we not become weak during the time of forty days so that we may rejoice during the season of fifty days.

98-X-10. SERMON 132. ON THE WORDS OF JOHN'S GOSPEL[††a]

I. [. . .] Those who already eat the Lord's Body and drink his Blood 2666
should reflect on what they eat and on what they drink so that, as the apostle says, they do not eat and drink judgment unto themselves.[1] Let those who do not yet eat and drink hasten, as invited guests, to the banquet. During these days the teachers feed you, Christ feeds you every day, his table is set before you. Why, O hearers, do you see the table and not come to the banquet? Perhaps just now, when the Gospel was read, did you say in your hearts, "We thought about what he said, 'Truly my flesh is food, and my blood is true drink.'"[2] How is the Lord's body eaten and the Lord's blood drunk? Now what does he mean? Who has closed the door so that you do not know this? It is covered with a veil but if you wish, it will be revealed. Hasten on to your profession of faith and you will resolve the matter. For the faithful already know what the Lord Jesus meant. You, however, being called a catechumen and a hearer, are deaf. For the eyes of your body are open because you hear the words that are spoken;

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† Translated from PL 38:696.

a. This sermon was given during Lent in 416/417.

1. See Matt 20:1–10.

†† Translated from PL 38:734–35.

a. This sermon was given shortly before Easter.

1. See 1 Cor 11:29. 2. John 6:55.

but the eyes of your heart remain closed because you do not understand what is said. I just speak the truth, I do not give arguments. Behold, the Pasch is near. Enroll your names for baptism.

98-X-11. SERMON 142 A. ON THE WORDS OF THE APOSTLE[†a]

2667 I. [. . .] According to church custom and regulations the bodies of deceased catechumens are not to be buried with those of the faithful. No exceptions are allowed. [. . .] The merits of the deceased, you see, depend not on those with whom their bodies lie buried but on the state of their souls. [. . .]

98-X-12. SERMON 159. ON THE WORDS OF THE APOSTLE[††a]

2668 I. [. . .] Heaven will not allow petition, only praise. Why not petition? Because nothing is lacking there. What we have to believe here below, there we will see. What we here hope for, there we will possess. What we here seek, there we will obtain. In this life there is no perfection, something the holy martyrs have obtained. And so there exists an ecclesiastical rule, one known by the faithful, that when the names of the martyrs are read at God's altar, we do not pray for them. We do, however, petition for the other deceased who are remembered there. It is wrong to pray for a martyr to whose prayer we should commend ourselves.

98-X-13. SERMON 162 C. ON THE WORDS OF THE APOSTLE TO THE GALATIANS WHERE PAUL REBUKES PETER[†††a]

2669 II. "A bishop, therefore, is to be irreprehensible."[1] Now if a bishop is to be irreprehensible, is it right that a Christian be reprehensible? The word "bishop" comes from the Greek *episkopos,* in common speech translated as "superintendent" or "overseer." I am a bishop, and yet with you I am a Christian. Our particular name comes from overseeing; our common name, the name we all share, comes from the anointing. [. . .]

98-X-14. SERMON 172. ON THE WORDS OF THE APOSTLE[††††a]

2670 II. [. . .] There can be no doubt that the deceased are assisted by the prayers of holy Church, by the salutary sacrifice, and by almsgiving;

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† Translated from Dolbeau, no. 7, p. 142.

a. This sermon is, as it were, a "postscript" to Sermon 142, perhaps dating from 406.

†† Translated from PL 38:868.

a. This sermon was given in 417/418.

††† Translated from Dolbeau, no. 10, pp. 167–68.

a. This sermon was preached in 397.

1. 1 Tim 3:2.

†††† Translated from PL 38:936–37.

a. Preached on an occasion similar to All Souls Day.

these are expended on behalf of their souls so that the Lord will treat the deceased with more mercy than their sins deserve. This is the tradition received from the fathers. This is what the whole Church does for those who have died in the communion of the Body and Blood of Christ, when they are named at the proper place in the sacrifice, and when the sacrifice itself is also offered for them. [. . .]

98-X-15. SERMON 176. ON THE THREE READINGS OF THE APOSTLE†a

II. [. . .] What about small children who are ill with the sin of Adam? 2671
These are carried to the church, and if they cannot run to the church with their own feet, they do so with the feet of others in order to be cured. Mother Church lends them the feet of others so that they come by the feet of others, so that they believe with the hearts of others, so that they confess with the tongues of others. [. . .]

98-X-16. SERMON 198. ON THE CALENDS OF JANUARY††a

I. Brethren, since, as we see, you have gathered today as for a solemn 2672
feast, doing so in larger numbers than usual, I urge you to remember what you have just sung so that your voices may not resound strongly while your hearts remain silent. May you eagerly shout out to God what you have sung for each other's ears. This is what you sang, "Lord, our God, save us, gather us from among the nations that we may praise your holy name."[1] And if the pagan feast that is today observed by worldly and carnal joy, by the sound of foolish and most evil songs, by wicked festivities and dances, if the things the pagans do today displease you, then you will be gathered from among the pagans.

II. [. . .] In order to follow your Redeemer who purchased you with his 2673
blood, do not mix with the pagans by imitating their practices and deeds. They give new year's gifts; you should bestow alms. They are summoned by impure songs; you should be summoned by the words of the Scriptures. They hurry off to the theater; you should hasten to church. They become drunk; you should fast. If you are unable to fast today, then at least eat with moderation. If you do this, you will truly sing "Lord our God, save us from among the pagans."[2]

XI. My dear brothers and sisters, omit everything that can cause the 2674
pagans to jeer at us. Enter the church in such a fashion as not to give the pagans an excuse for staying away. Our purpose in coming to church is, you see, so that we may gather as brothers and sisters since the temple for

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† Translated from PL 38:950.

a. This sermon was preached in 414.

†† Translated from PL 38:1024–25.

a. This sermon, preached on New Year's Day in 404 (perhaps 420/435), is also found in Dolbeau, where it is no. 26.

1. Ps 106:47. 2. Ibid.

prayer is found within you. Clean the place where you pray, and you will be heard. Surely if we keep clean the visible place where we pray—doing so not to please God's eyes since God sees all things just as he created all things—but so that your eyes not be offended and your attention be distracted, how much more should you keep clean your hearts where and with which you pray to God? [. . .] Imagine that a heavy weight is to be moved and what is known as a chantey is being sung. Now wouldn't the just voices of all the men singing and pulling together in order to sustain the movement and rhythm of their shared endeavor not arouse even your own weak power so that you also desire to take hold of the rope and enjoy participating in this work? [. . .]

2675 IL. [. . .] Christ is the one true mediator [. . .] to whom our prayers are directed although in the Church's worship our prayers are addressed to the Father. [. . .]

2676 L. Formerly it was customary that only one priest was anointed; now all Christians are anointed.

2677 LI. [. . .] The name of Christ comes from the chrism, from the anointing. But Christ's body is the Church. For this reason all Christians are anointed. This takes place in a sacrament which is known to the faithful but concealed from the rest.

98-X-17. SERMON 213. ON HANDING OVER THE CREED†a

2678 VIII. "I believe in the forgiveness of sins." If this forgiveness were not found in the Church, there would be no hope. If it were not in the Church, there would be no hope for a future life and eternal freedom. We thank God for having given this gift to the Church. Behold, you are about to approach the holy font where you will be renewed by the baptismal water, by the salutary bath of rebirth; ascending from that bath, you will be without sin. All past sins are there washed away. Your sins were like the Egyptians who pursued the Israelites but only as far as the Red Sea.[1] And why only this far? As far as Christ's font, which is consecrated by his cross and blood. That which is red, makes red. Do you not see how the part [blood] of Christ becomes red? Ask the eyes of faith. If you see a cross, also look at the blood. If you look at what hangs there, also look at what flows down from there? The side of Christ was pierced by a lance,[2] and the price of our redemption flowed down. Thus baptism is signed with the sign of the cross, that is, the water in which you were made wet and which, as it were, you passed through in the Red Sea. Your sins are now your enemies. They follow you, but only as far as the Red Sea. Upon entering the water, you escape; they will be destroyed just as the Israelites escaped over dry land while the waters submerged the Egyptians. What does Scripture say?

† Translated from PL 38:1064–65.

a. Given two weeks before Easter, sometime before 410.

1. See Exod 14. 2. See John 19:34.

"Not one of them remains."[3] Whether your sins be many or few, whether they be great or small, not the least of them has remained. But since we are to live in this world where no one is sinless, so the forgiveness of sins is found not only in the washing of holy baptism but also in the Lord's Prayer which is said each day and which you will receive in a week's time. In this prayer you will find, as it were, your daily baptism. So you are to thank God who has given this gift to his Church. It is this we profess in the creed when we add "the forgiveness of sins" to "the Holy Church."

98-X-18. SERMON 214. ON HANDING OVER THE CREED[†a]

1. [. . .] The creed strengthens you in what you should believe and in 2679
what you should confess so that you may be saved. Surely what you will receive in a brief form, things to be committed to memory and professed by your mouth, are neither new nor unfamiliar, for you are accustomed to hear them variously proposed in the holy Scriptures and in sermons given in church. But gathered together and summarized in a certain order so that your faith may be built up, these truths are handed on to you so as to help you prepare yourselves for your profession and so that your memory may not be burdened. It is what you are to faithfully retain and recite back from memory. (After this introduction the whole creed is to be said without any words of explanation: "I believe in God the Father almighty" and all that follows. You are aware that the creed is not customarily written down [. . .].)[b]

98-X-19. SERMON 216. TO THE *COMPETENTES*[††a]

1. [. . .] May all of us, according to our calling by the Lord, run after 2680
him and follow in his footsteps; may no one look back. The truth, which can neither deceive nor be deceived, openly declares, "No one who puts a hand to the plow and looks back is fit for the kingdom of heaven."[1] Truly the name you bear, *competentes*, shows that you desire this kingdom, that you are approaching it with all that is in you. For what else does *competentes* mean unless it is those who are asking together? Consider the words *condocentes, concurrentes, considentes*: do they not mean anything else other than those "teaching together," "running together," "sitting together"? And so the word *competentes* was formed to show that these persons are together seeking one and the same thing. [. . .]

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3. Ps 106:11.

† Translated from PL 38:1065–66.

a. This sermon was preached two weeks before Easter in 391.

b. Added by a copyist.

†† Translated from PL 38:1077.

a. This sermon was given at the beginning of Lent, perhaps in 397, for those enrolled to be baptized.

1. Luke 9:62.

98-X-20. SERMON 218. CONCERNING THE LORD'S PASSION ON THE DAY OF PREPARATION†a

2681 I. The Passion of him whose blood has washed away our sins is solemnly read and solemnly celebrated. By this annual observance our memories are more joyfully renewed, and by this large gathering of people our faith is more clearly illuminated. And so the solemnity itself requires that we preach to you about the Lord's passion. [. . .]

2682 XIV. His side, pierced by a lance, issued forth blood and water upon the ground. Surely these are the sacraments that formed the Church. [. . .]

98-X-21. SERMON 219. DURING THE PASCHAL VIGIL††a

2683 The blessed apostle Paul, urging us to imitate him, also mentions—among numerous other manifestations of his power—"many sleepless nights."[1] How much more eagerly should we keep watch during this vigil which is, as it were, the mother of all holy vigils, a vigil during which the whole world is awake. [. . .] Let us watch and pray so that we may celebrate this vigil both internally and externally. May God speak to us in his readings. May we speak to God in our prayers. If we obediently listen to God's words, he whom we petition will dwell among us.

98-X-22. SERMON 220. DURING THE PASCHAL VIGIL†††a

2684 Brethren, we know and most firmly continue to believe that Christ died but once for us. [. . .] As the apostle says, "He was handed over for our sins, and he arose for our justification."[1] As you know so well, this took place only once. And yet as the years pass, the solemnity is repeated even though so many voices from Scripture truly declare it has happened only once. Nonetheless, truth and solemnity are not opposed to each other so that one is telling lies whereas the other is speaking the truth. For what truth says actually took place only once, the solemnity renews what is often celebrated by pious hearts. Truth reveals what happened as it happened; the solemnity, however, does not permit what once happened to pass away, not by repeating it but by celebrating it. And so "Christ our Pasch has been sacrificed."[2] Surely he died but once; yet he dies no more since death will have no further dominion over him.[3] Therefore according to the voice of literal truth, we say that the Pasch occurred but once and will happen no more; according to the language of solemnity, however,

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† Translated from PL 38:1084, 1087.

a. This sermon was given on Good Friday before 420.

†† Translated from PL 38:1087–88.

a. This sermon was perhaps given before 396.

1. 2 Cor 11:27.

††† Translated from PL 38:1089.

a. This sermon was probably given before 396.

1. Rom 4:25. 2. 1 Cor 5:7. 3. See Rom 6:9.

we say that the Pasch will be celebrated each year. It is in this way that we, I believe, should understand the psalm, "Our inner thoughts will give you thanks, and the memorial of our inward thoughts will keep a feast to you."[4] Unless thought committed to memory what is said to have taken place in time, afterwards it would find no traces once time had passed. Therefore human thought, seeing what really takes place, praises the Lord. But traces of thought, which are found in the memory, do not cease to celebrate the anniversaries of the feasts lest thought be considered ungrateful. It is to this understanding that the solemnity of this night pertains, where by keeping vigil we, as it were, re-enact in thought the Lord's resurrection, which we acknowledge occurred historically only once.

The proclamation of historical truth has instructed us well. Therefore 2685
may we not neglect this solemnity and become irreligious. This celebration has rightly made the present night famous throughout the world. It shows who Christians are; it confounds the darkness of the Jewish people; it overthrows the idols of the pagans.

98-X-23. SERMON 221. DURING THE PASCHAL VIGIL†a

[. . .] My brothers and sisters, we should, therefore, keep vigil since 2686
Christ remained in the tomb till this very night. He did this so it would be during this night that the resurrection of his body would take place, a body once marked on the cross and now worshiped in heaven and upon earth. We consider this night as being part of the following day, namely, the Lord's Day. It is clear that the Lord had to rise during the night since his resurrection gave light to our darkness; nor was it insignificant that just a little time ago we sang, "You, Lord, my God will light my lamp, you will give light to my darkness."[1] [. . .]

[. . .] Why, then, do Christians keep vigil on this yearly feast? This is 2687
the greatest time for us to keep vigil. [. . .] This night's vigil is such that it alone, among all the others, can use the common name "vigil" as its own proper name, being simply called "the vigil." [. . .]

98-X-24. SERMON 223. DURING THE PASCHAL VIGIL††a

1. [. . .] By the brightness of their garments these *infantes*,[b] whom you 2688
see wearing white robes externally and who have been cleansed internally, show forth the splendor of their minds when in darkness they were weighed down by the night of their sins. [. . .]

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4. Ps 76:10, LXX.

† Translated from PL 38:1068.

a. This sermon was given during the year 400.

1. Ps 18:28.

†† Translated from PL 38:1092.

a. This sermon was given between 400 and 405 or after 412.

b. A term designating all the newly baptized regardless of age.

2689 11. Do not be surprised at the large number of bad Christians who fill the church, who share at the altar, who loudly praise the bishop or presbyter when he preaches about good morals. [. . .]

98-X-25. SERMON 224. ON THE PASCH[†a]

2690 IV. O baptized ones, listen to me. All who have been reborn through Christ's blood, hear me. I beseech you through the name that was invoked over you, through the altar you approached, through the sacraments you received, through the future judgment of the living and of the dead. I ask you, I obligate you by the name of Christ that you do not imitate those whom you know to be as I described [those refusing to reform], but may his sacrament remain in you, the sacrament of him who did not wish to descend from the cross but desired to rise from the dead.

98-X-26. SERMON 227. ON THE PASCH[††a]

2691 I remember my promise—for I promised you who have been baptized—a sermon that would explain the table of the Lord's sacrament, which you can now see and at which you shared last night. You should know something about what you received, what you will receive, and what you ought to receive each day. The bread that you see upon the altar, the bread when consecrated by the word of God, is the Body of Christ. The cup, or rather what the cup contains, when sanctified through the word of God, is the Blood of Christ. Through these Christ the Lord desired to entrust us with his Body and with his Blood, which he shed for the forgiveness of sins. If you receive them in a fitting manner, then you are what you have received, for the apostle says, "We though many are one bread, one body."[1] This is how he explained the sacrament of the Lord's table: "We though many are one bread, one body."[b] The bread tells you how much you should love unity. Was the bread made from one grain? Were there not many grains of wheat? But before they came together to form the loaf of bread, they were separate grains; they were united by means of water after being somewhat crushed. For unless wheat is ground and moistened with water, it will hardly attain the form of bread. So you also were ground, as it were, by the humility of fasting and the sacrament of exorcism. Then baptism by water took place, and you were moistened so that you could become bread. But bread cannot exist without fire. And what does fire represent? It is chrism. For the sacrament of the Holy Spirit is the oil that feeds our fire. [. . .]

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† Translated from PL 38:1095.

a. This sermon was given on Easter or during its octave and between 412 and 416.

†† Translated from PL 38:1099–1101.

a. This sermon was given at Easter, sometime between 412 and 417.

b. Cf. *Didache* IX.4 (WEC 1:186).

1. 1 Cor 10:17.

When you gather at church, put aside silly tales and attend to the Scrip- 2692
tures. We are your books. Therefore listen and see how on Pentecost the Holy Spirit will come, showing itself in tongues of fire. The Spirit will inspire the love by which we are to long for God, to show disdain for the world, to burn our straw, and to purify our hearts like gold. Therefore the Spirit, the fire, comes after the water, and you are made into the bread [which is the Body of Christ]. In a certain way unity is consequently signified. You now have the sacraments [the parts of the Eucharist] in the order [of their celebration]. First, after the prayer, you are admonished to lift up your hearts, as is fitting for the members of Christ, for if you have been made Christ's members, where then is your head? Members have a head. If the head had not gone before, the members would not follow. Where has our head gone? What did you recite back in the creed? "On the third day he rose from the dead, ascended into heaven, and sits at the right hand of the Father." And so our head is in heaven. This is why when "Lift up your hearts" is said, you respond, "We have [lifted them up] to the Lord." And since this lifting up is a gift of God and so that you do not attribute it to your own strength, merits, and labors, the bishop or the presbyter who is offering goes on to say—after the people have replied, "We have lifted them up to the Lord"—"Let us give thanks to the Lord our God" because we have indeed lifted up our hearts. Let us give thanks because if God did not make it possible for us to do this, then our hearts would remain here on earth. This is what you affirm when you say, "It is right and just that we give thanks to him who caused us to lift up our hearts to our head."

Then after the sanctification of God's sacrifice, because God desired that 2693
we ourselves be his sacrifice—something made clear when the sacrifice was first instituted—and because the sacrifice is to be a sign of what we are, then when the sanctification is completed, we say the Lord's Prayer, which you have received and recited back. Immediately afterwards occur the "Peace be with you" and the holy kiss that Christians share with one another. This is a sign of peace; what the lips indicate should take place within, namely, as your lips draw near to those of your brothers or sisters, so may your heart not be far from theirs. These mysteries, therefore, are great, very great. Do you want to know the manner in which they are commended? The apostle says, "Whoever eats the Body of Christ or drinks the cup of the Lord unworthily will be guilty of the Lord's Body and Blood."[2] Now what does it mean to receive unworthily? It is to do so with derision, with contempt. Just because you can see something does not mean that it is of little value. What you can see will pass away. Yet the invisible that is signified will not pass away but remain. Behold it is received, eaten, consumed. Is Christ's Body ever consumed? Is Christ's Church ever consumed? Are Christ's members ever consumed? By no

2. 1 Cor 11:27.

means! Here they are washed, there they will be crowned. Therefore what is signified will remain forever, even though it seems to pass on. Consequently receive in such a way that you might ponder, that you might have unity in your hearts, that you might always lift up your hearts. May your hope not be upon earth but in heaven; may your faith be strong in God; may it be acceptable to God. Because here on earth you believe what you do not presently see, you will see it there where you will ever rejoice.

98-X-27. SERMON 228. ON THE PASCH[†a]

2694 I. After all that took place last night, I will not long detain you since even though the spirit is willing, the flesh remains weak. Nonetheless, I should say a few words. These days, days after the passion of our Lord God and days on which we sing the Alleluia, we celebrate as joyful feasts till Pentecost when the Holy Spirit, as promised, was sent from heaven. Of these days the seven or eight that now concern us are devoted to explaining to the *infantes* the sacraments they received. Those who just a short time ago were called *competentes* are now called *infantes*. They were called *competentes* because they were beating against their mother's womb seeking to be born; they are now called *infantes* because those who were previously born to the world are now born to Christ. [. . .]

98-X-28. SERMON 230. DURING THE DAYS OF EASTER[††a]

2695 [. . .] Let us put into practice what we have sung to the Lord. [. . .] If you live well, then you are what you sing. [. . .]

98-X-29. SERMON 231. DURING THE DAYS OF EASTER[†††a]

2696 I.1. During these days we customarily read about the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, doing so from all the books of the holy Gospel. [. . .]

98-X-30. SERMON 232. DURING THE DAYS OF EASTER[††††a]

2697 VII.7. Yesterday I warned you and today I am again warning you that Christ's resurrection exists within us only if we live well, only if our former evil life has died and our new life increases each day. Many penitents are present here; when hands are laid upon them the line is very long. "Pray, O penitents," and they leave in order to pray. I examine the

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† Translated from PL 38:1101.

a. This sermon was given on Easter, perhaps ca. 420.

†† Translated from PL 38:1104.

a. This sermon was given at Easter or during the Easter octave.

††† Translated from PL 38:1104.

a. This sermon was given on Monday or Wednesday of Easter week in 412/413.

†††† Translated from PL 38:1111.

a. This sermon was given during Easter week, perhaps on Easter Tuesday 412/413.

penitents and I find them living badly. In what way are they repenting of what they are continuing to do? If they are repenting, they should not act in such fashion. And if they do so act, then their name is a misnomer, then their sin remains. Some have on their own sought to be penitents. Some, excommunicated by me, have returned to the penitential state from which they do not want to emerge. It is as if they themselves have chosen this state. And so what should be a place of humility becomes one of iniquity. I am talking to you who are called penitents and yet are not. I am talking to you. "What should I say to you? Can I praise you? No, in this I do not praise you."[1] I only lament and bewail.

98-X-31. SERMON 243. DURING THE DAYS OF EASTER[†a]

IX.8. [. . .] These holy days, celebrated after the Lord's resurrection, 2698
stand for our future life after our own resurrection. Just as the forty days before the Pasch signify our toilsome life in this mortal time of hard labor, so these joyful days represent the future life where we will reign with the Lord. We already have the life signified by the forty days before the Pasch. We do not have the life signified by the fifty days after the Lord's resurrection, but we hope for it and by hoping we love it; and in that love God, who promised all this, is praised. These praises are the Alleluia. For what is the Alleluia? The word is Hebrew, Alleluia, Praise God. *Allelu-* means "praise"; *Ia* means "God." And so with the Alleluia we sound our praise of God, and we urge each other to do likewise. With harmonious hearts we praise God better than with the strings of the cithara; we sing Alleluia. [. . .]

98-X-32. SERMON 252. DURING THE DAYS OF EASTER[††a]

IV. [. . .] Is it not true that those who fill the theaters also fill the 2699
churches? And what they seek in church by their unruly conduct, is it not what they seek in the theater? [. . .] My brothers and sisters, do you not recall what we experienced in this very city, what I so clearly recall, what risks we encountered when God expelled rowdy celebrations from this basilica? [. . .]

IX. Can it be just an accident that the days we are now celebrating are 2700
fifty in number? It is not without reason, my brothers and sisters, that the Church, following an ancient traditional custom, sings the Alleluia throughout these fifty days. Alleluia means "Praise God." Therefore to us who are toiling it signifies that we have attained rest. Once we arrive at

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1. 1 Cor 11:22.

† Translated from PL 38:1147.

a. This sermon was given during Easter week, perhaps on Easter Thursday, after 409.

†† Translated from PL 38:1174, 1176–77.

a. This sermon was perhaps preached on April 18, 396.

that rest after this period of labor, our only task will be to praise God. The Alleluia will be all we have to do. Now what is the meaning of Alleluia? It means "Praise God." Who can unceasingly praise God other than the angels? They do not suffer hunger, thirst, sickness, or death. We also have sung the Alleluia. It was sung here early this morning; and when we were present, we also did so. We are reached by the aroma of divine praise and that rest, and yet for the most part our mortality presses us down. We are worn out from speaking, and so we wish to rest our body; and if the Alleluia would be sung for a long period of time, then the praise of God would become a burden for us due to the very weight of our bodies. Yet after the toil of this world the Alleluia will be repeated continuously. And now what, my brothers and sisters? May we sing it as vigorously as we can so that we might sing it forever. Then the Alleluia, that is, the praise of God, will be our food, the Alleluia will be our drink, the Alleluia will be our repast, the Alleluia will be our total joy. [. . .]

2701 X. Why are fifty days celebrated in this mystery? As the Acts of the Apostles testifies, the Lord spent fifty days with his disciples after the resurrection. When forty days had passed, he ascended into heaven, and ten days later sent the Holy Spirit. When the apostles were filled with the Holy Spirit and once "they all had come together, they spoke in tongues."[1] While proclaiming God's word with great courage, they did those wonderful works which we, reading about and believing, cherish. He spent forty days on earth with his disciples.[2] It is only the Lord, Moses, and Elijah whom we find fasting for forty days.[3] The Lord as the Gospel, Moses as the Law, and Elijah as the prophet: because the Law and the prophets bear witness to the Gospel.[4] Therefore when our Lord desired to show his glory upon the mountain, he stood between Moses and Elijah.[5] Being in the middle, he was ablaze with honor; on each side giving testimony were the Law and the prophets. The number forty represents the present age in which we forever toil. [. . .]

98-X-33. SERMON 254. DURING THE DAYS OF EASTER[†a]

2702 IV.5. The forty days before the Pasch represent the age of human sorrow and lament. The fifty days signify the days that will come, days of joy, rest, happiness, eternal life, the eternal kingdom, all that is not yet. On these days God is praised. We are being shown the two ages: one before the Lord's resurrection, the other after his resurrection, one in which we presently live, the other in which we hope to live. We observe and possess the time of sorrow signified by the forty days. Through the Alleluia we observe the time of joy, of rest, and of the kingdom, the age which these

1. Acts 2:1–3. 2. See Matt 4:2. 3. See Exod 34:28; 1 Kgs 19:8. 4. See Rom 3:21. 5. See Matt 17:23.

† Translated from PL 38:1184.

a. This sermon was given sometime between 412 and 416, perhaps within Easter week.

days represent, and yet we do not possess the praises. But now we sigh for the Alleluia. What does Alleluia mean? It means "Praise God." But we do not yet possess the praises. During these days after the resurrection God's praises are celebrated in the church because after our resurrection we will be perpetually giving praise. The Lord's passion stands for the present time in which we now weep. [. . .]

98-X-34. SERMON 255. DURING THE DAYS OF EASTER[†a]

I. Because the Lord desired that we visit you during this time during 2703
which the Alleluia is sung, we should say something about it. May I not bore you by saying what you already know, namely, that we sing the Alleluia every day and that we delight in doing so. You are aware that the word "Alleluia" means in Latin *Laudate Deum*, and by this word, with voices resounding together and hearts in agreement, we urge one another to praise God. Only those who do not displease God praise God without fear of any kind. And certainly during this time of journey we sing Alleluia so that we may be comforted on the way; at present the Alleluia is the song of a person on a journey; nonetheless, we are traveling down a toilsome path toward that peaceful country where, once we have put aside all our cares, nothing will remain except the Alleluia.

98-X-35. SERMON 256. DURING THE DAYS OF EASTER[††a]

I. It has pleased our Lord God that we, being physically present here, 2704
joined you in singing to him the Alleluia, which in Latin is *Laudate Dominum.* And so, my brothers and sisters, let us praise the Lord with our lives and tongues, hearts and mouths, voices and actions. It is in this way that God wishes the Alleluia to be sung to him so that there be no discord among those giving praise. And so may our tongue be in harmony with our life, our mouth with our conscience. May our voices, I say, agree with what we do so that our good voices may not give testimony as to evil deeds. O happy is the Alleluia in heaven where the angels are God's temple. For the highest agreement exists among those who praise where there is peaceful rejoicing among those who are singing; where there is "no law among the members opposing the law of the mind";[1] where there is no strife of human desire to threaten the victory of love. Even though we are still beset with cares, let us sing the Alleluia so that being free from all worries we may sing it in heaven. [. . .]

III. [. . .] O happy Alleluia there [in heaven]! O peaceful Alleluia! O 2705
Alleluia without an adversary! Where there will be no enemy! Where no

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† Translated from PL 38:1186.

a. This sermon was given at Carthage in 418, perhaps on May 5 or 6.

†† Translated from PL 38:1190, 1193.

a. This sermon was given on Sunday, May 5, 418.

1. Rom 7:23.

friend is lost! In that place God will be praised. Here God is praised but by those who have worries; there by the untroubled. Here by those who will die; there by those who will live forever. Here in hope; there in actuality. Here on a journey; there in one's own country. Therefore, my brothers and sisters, let us sing not for the pleasure of rest but for relief of toil. Just as travelers are accustomed to sing, so you are to sing, but keep on moving. Lighten the burden by singing. Do not love laziness. Sing and make progress, advance in goodness. [. . .]

98-X-36. SERMON 260 A. ON THE SUNDAY AFTER EASTER†a

2706 I. I speak to you as if to "newborn infants,"[1] as "children of Christ,"[2] as new offspring of the Church. You are the grace of the Father, proof of the mother's fecundity. All of you who stand in the Lord are a holy offering, a new colony of bees, the flower of our honor, the fruit of our labor, "our joy and our crown, all you who stand fast in the Lord."[3] I speak to you using the words of the apostle: "Behold, the night has advanced, the day approaches. Throw off the works of darkness, and put on the arms of light. Walk properly as in the day, not in orgies or drunkenness, not in debauchery and licentiousness, not in contention and rivalry, but put on the Lord Jesus Christ, and provide not for the desires of the flesh"[4] so that your actions be clothed with him whom you have put on in the sacrament. "For you who have been baptized in Christ have put on Christ. There is no Jew or Greek. There is neither slave nor free man, neither male nor female, for all are one in Christ Jesus."[5]

2707 Such is the power of the sacrament, for it is a sacrament of new life, a life that now begins with the forgiveness of all past sins and will be perfected in the resurrection of the dead. "For you are buried with Christ unto death so that just as Christ rose from the dead so might you be able to walk in newness of life."[6] Now you walk by faith, still in the mortal body[7] and estranged from the Lord, but he is for you a sure way,[8] he to whom you are going, Jesus Christ who deigned to become human for our sake. He has laid up much sweetness for those who fear him;[9] this he will make known to all who hope in him, perfecting it so that what we now possess in faith we will actually receive. [. . .]

2708 II. "Having these promises, my brothers and sisters, let us cleanse ourselves from all defilement of the flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of God."[10] "I ask that you walk in a way worthy of the vocation by which you have been called, with all humility of soul and meekness, supporting one another in love, carefully observing unity of spirit in the

† Translated from PL 46:858–61, where it is Sermon 8.

a. This sermon was given on one of the first Sundays after Easter between 393 and 405.

1. 1 Pet 2:2. 2. 1 Cor 3:1. 3. Phil 4:1. 4. Rom 13:12–14. 5. Gal 3:27–28. 6. Rom 6:4. 7. See 2 Cor 5:6–7. 8. See John 14:6. 9. See Ps 31:19. 10. 2 Cor 7:1.

bond of peace."[11] From where have we received this pledge? There are those who have put on Christ only in the sacrament and remain naked in terms of what they believe and do. Many heretics possess the sacrament of baptism but not the fruit of salvation nor the bond of peace. As the apostle said, "They have the appearance of religion but reject its power."[12] Either enrolled by deserters or being deserters themselves, they bear the mark of the good king in a flesh that has been condemned and say to us, "If we are not believers, then why don't you baptize us? If we are already members of the faithful, then why do you inquire about us?" It is as if they had not read about Simon Magnus, who was baptized and to whom Peter, nevertheless, said, "You have no share or lot in this faith."[13] So it can happen that a person receives the baptism of Christ and still does not possess faith or the love of Christ; one can have received the sacrament of holiness and yet not be counted among the holy ones.[14] Nor in regard to the sacrament itself does it matter if a person has received the baptism of Christ in a place where Christ's unity is nonexistent. If some who are baptized in the Church desert the Church, they will lack holiness of life but not the sign [*signaculum*] of the sacrament. Since the sacrament is not given to those who return to the Church, it cannot be shown that it was lost when these people departed the Church. Even though a deserter is no longer a member of the army, he still remains marked as a soldier of the king. If he then signs another with the same sign, he does not make this person a comrade-in-arms but a companion-in-punishment. If, however, he should return to the army and the other person joins him, then, the royal severity being placated, the former would be forgiven and the latter would be accepted. For both of them the fault is corrected, the penalty is remitted, peace is given; for neither of them is the sign repeated.

III. They [the heretics] should not say to us, "What can you give us since 2709
we have already been baptized?" They do not know what they are saying since they do not even wish to read what the holy Scripture testifies, namely, that within the Church, that is, within the communion of Christ's members, many of those baptized in Samaria were merely baptized, not having received the Holy Spirit till the apostles came to them from Jerusalem;[15] on the other hand, Cornelius and those with him merited to receive the Holy Spirit before receiving the sacrament of baptism.[16] In this way God taught that the sign of salvation is one thing, salvation itself is another; the form of godliness is one thing, the power of godliness is another. "What," they say, "can you give us if we have already been baptized?" O sacrilegious vanity to think nothing of Christ's Church, to which they do not belong, so that they believe they receive nothing when united in communion with it. May Amos the prophet say to them, "Woe to those who regard Sion as nothing."[17] "What will I receive," he says, "if I have

11. Eph 4:1–3. 12. 2 Tim 3:5. 13. Acts 8:21. 14. See Col 1:12. 15. See Acts 8:5–17. 16. See Acts 10:44. 17. Amos 6:1, LXX.

already been baptized?" You will receive the Church of which you are not a member. You will receive unity, which you do not have. You will receive peace, which you do not have. [. . .]

2710 IV. Devout children, Catholic members, you have received not a different baptism but a baptism for a different end, not unto punishment but unto life, not unto destruction but unto salvation, not unto damnation but unto honor, for you have also received "the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace."[18] My desire and hope—my exhortation and prayer—is that the unity you have received may be integrally preserved and that by moving forward you may attain greater things. Today is the octave day of your new birth. Today the sign [*signaculum*] of faith is completed in you. [. . .] By his resurrection Christ consecrated the Lord's Day, which is the third day after the day of his passion; it is both the eighth day and the first day of the week. You have received the pledge of the Holy Spirit, if not in fact then surely in hope because you have received the sacrament of what has been pledged. "If you have risen with Christ, seek the things that are above where Christ is, sitting at the right hand of the Father. Seek the things that are above, not those upon the earth. For you have died and your life is hidden with Christ in God. When Christ, who is your life, will appear, then you also will appear with him in glory."[19]

98-X-37. SERMON 262. ON THE LORD'S ASCENSION†a

2711 III. On this day, namely, the fortieth day after his resurrection, the Lord ascended into heaven. [. . .] Behold, this day is celebrated throughout the whole world.

98-X-38. SERMON 272. ON THE LAST DAY OF PENTECOST††a

2712 [. . .] What do you see? It is bread and a cup. This is what your eyes tell you. Yet what your faith demands is that you believe the bread to be Christ's Body and the cup to be his Blood. Surely this is a summary which perhaps suffices for faith, but faith desires instruction. The prophet says, "Unless you have believed, you will not understand."[1] For you can tell me, "You have known in advance that we believe. Now explain so that we may understand." [. . .] He [the Lord Jesus] is sitting at the right hand of the Father. How, then, is this bread his Body? And the cup—or its contents—how can this be his Blood? These, my brothers and sisters, are called mysteries [*sacramenta*] because in them one thing is seen, another is understood. What is seen has a material appearance; what is understood

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18. Eph 4:3. 19. Col 3:1–4.

† Translated from PL 38:1208.

a. This sermon was given on May 4, 411.

†† Translated from PL 38:1246–48.

a. This sermon was given either on Easter or on Pentecost between 405 and 411.

1. Isa 7:9, LXX.

brings forth spiritual fruit. Therefore, if you desire to understand the Body of Christ, listen to the apostle who tells the faithful, "Now you are the Body of Christ and its members."[2] If, therefore, you are the Body and the members of Christ, your mystery is placed on the Lord's table; you receive your own mystery. Respond "Amen" to what you are, and by responding you give your assent. You hear "The Body of Christ" and you respond "Amen." Be a member of Christ's Body so that your Amen may be true. Why in bread? So that we may bring nothing of our own here, let us listen to the same apostle who says about this sacrament, "We though many are one bread, one body."[3] Understand and rejoice: unity, truth, godliness, love. "One bread." Who is this one bread? "Many are one body." Further reflect on the fact that the bread is made from many grains, not from one grain. When you were exorcised, you were, so to speak, ground in a mill. When you were baptized, you were, so to speak, mixed together like dough. When you received the fire of the Holy Spirit, you were, so to speak, baked. Be what you can see, and receive what you are. [. . .]

98-X-39. SERMON 284. ON THE FEAST OF THE MARTYRS MARIANUS AND JAMES[†a]

v. My brothers and sisters, are we to be surprised that you know where 2713
the names of the martyrs are recited? The Church does not pray for them. Rightly does the Church pray for the other deceased who are asleep; it does not pray for the martyrs but rather commends itself to their prayers. [. . .]

98-X-40. SERMON 293 A. ON THE NATIVITY OF SAINT JOHN THE BAPTIST[††a]

XVI. [. . .] A drunkard now baptizes; it is a mystery. A heretic has 2714
baptized—it is a mystery. The gift of baptism is given by almighty God. Clearly if someone baptized in the name of Donatus, this baptism would have to be repeated. Yet if I find there the baptism of Christ, if I recognize the words of the Gospel, if I see there the image and mark of my king, then even if you deserted [. . .], you can be forgiven, yet your mark cannot be changed.

98-X-41. SERMON 294. ON THE FEAST OF THE MARTYR GUDDENS[†††a]

1.2. They [the Donatists] concede that babies are to be baptized. So the 2715
question dividing us from them is not whether babies should be baptized

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2. 1 Cor 12:27. 3. 1 Cor 10:17.

† Translated from PL 38:1291.

a. This sermon was given on May 6, the feast of these saints. The year would have been 397/418.

†† Translated from Dolbeau, no. 3, pp. 494–95.

a. This sermon was given on June 24, the nativity of John the Baptist.

††† Translated from PL 38:1335–36, 1343.

a. This sermon was preached on June 27, 413, the feast of the Martyr Guddens.

but why babies should be baptized. As to what they concede, we indeed agree with them: there should be no doubt that babies are to be baptized.

2716 II. [. . .] We hold that the only way for babies to be saved and to obtain eternal life is baptism in Christ. They, however, hold that babies are to be baptized for the sake of the kingdom of heaven and not for the sake of salvation or eternal life. [. . .]

2717 XIII.14. [. . .] What place do you give to baptized babies? Surely they rank among believers. This is why baptized babies are called the "faithful" according to the ancient, canonical, and well-founded practice of the Church. It is in such a way that we inquire about them: "Is this baby a Christian?" "Yes, a Christian" is the response. "Are you a catechumen or a member of the faithful?" "One of the faithful." [. . .]

98-X-42. SERMON 301 A. ON THE SOLEMNITY OF THE HOLY MACCABEES[†a]

2718 VIII. [. . .] "I am," someone says, "a catechumen." You're a catechumen? A catechumen. Now do you have one forehead that has received the sign of Christ, and another that you carry to the theater? So you want to go there? Well, change your forehead and go. Since you cannot change your forehead, then don't destroy it. The name of God is invoked over you, Christ is called over you, God is invoked over you, the sign of the cross is traced and formed upon your forehead. [. . .]

98-X-43. SERMON 302. ON THE SOLEMNITY OF THE MARTYR LAWRENCE[††a]

2719 I. Today we observe the feast of the blessed martyr Lawrence. We listened to the readings suitable for this holy solemnity. We heard them, and we sang them, and with the greatest attention we listened to the reading of the Gospel. [. . .]

98-X-44. SERMON 303. ON THE FEAST OF THE MARTYR LAWRENCE[†††a]

2720 I. Today is the martyrdom of blessed Lawrence. It is a well-known feast in Rome but not here. I see before me only a small group of people. Just as the glory of Rome cannot be concealed, so the crown of Lawrence cannot be hidden. Yet I just don't understand how it can escape the attention of this great city. And so you, few in number, will hear only a short sermon since we cannot preach at length due to the heat and due to my bodily fatigue. [. . .]

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† Translated from PL 46:880, where it is Sermon 17.

a. This sermon was perhaps given in 399.

†† Translated from PL 38:1385.

a. This was preached on August 10, the feast of Lawrence. The year was about 400.

††† Translated from PL 38:1393.

a. This sermon was given on the feast of Lawrence, August 10, between 423 and 430.

98-X-45. SERMON 304. ON THE SOLEMNITY OF THE MARTYR LAWRENCE[†a]

1. [. . .] In that church [at Rome] Lawrence carried out the diaconal of- 2721
fice. There he ministered the most holy Blood of Christ; there he poured out his own blood for the name of Christ. [. . .]

98-X-46. SERMON 305 A. ON THE SOLEMNITY OF THE MARTYR LAWRENCE[††a]

1. [. . .] A most solemn day shines forth in Rome where it is celebrated 2722
by a large crowd of people. Although physically apart from them, we join them as we are present in spirit with our brothers and sisters in one body and under one head. A martyr's memory is observed not only where the martyr's body rests. Devotion to the martyr is fitting all over. The body is located in one place, but the martyr's soul lives triumphant with the one who is everywhere. [. . .] This type of festival of all the glorious martyrs was established in the Church so that we, who have not actually witnessed their suffering, might by observing the feast be brought near to them through faith. Perhaps if the anniversary were not repeated, their memory would disappear from human hearts. There cannot be fervent solemnities of all the martyrs in all places since no day would lack such a solemnity. Throughout the year hardly a day can be found on which martyrs have not been crowned in various places. But if more fervent solemnities of this kind were continuously observed, then boredom would set in; an interval between solemnities results in a certain eagerness. May we not only listen to what has been prescribed, but may we also look ahead to what has been promised. When the solemnity of a martyr is observed, may we so prepare our hearts that we may not fail to follow that martyr's example.

IV. Now let us reflect on the children of those who have been slain and 2723
on the children of those who have done the slaying. You see many hastening to the tombs of the martyrs where they bless their cups and then return saturated. Looking closely, you will find them to be among the persecutors of the martyrs. On their account we have confusion, quarrels, dancing, all types of excesses hated by God. Now that the martyrs have already achieved victory, their persecutors cannot assault them with stones, and yet they do so with their [drinking] cups. Who were they, and whose children were they, whose dancing was forbidden near the tomb of the holy martyr Cyprian? Surely they were dancing there; they were making merry there. [. . .] The children of the martyrs offer praise; the persecutors dance. The children of the martyrs sing hymns; the persecutors engage in feasting. [. . .]

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† Translated from PL 38:1395.

a. This sermon was preached on the feast of Lawrence, August 10, in 417.

†† Translated from PL 46:855–58, where it is Sermon XIII.

a. This sermon was given in Carthage on the feast of Lawrence, August 10, in 401.

98-X-47. SERMON 311. ON THE FEAST OF THE MARTYR CYPRIAN[†a]

2724 II.5. In the Gospel the Lord says, "We have sung for you, and you have not danced."[1] [. . .] In this of all places is anyone allowed to dance while the psalms are being sung? There was a time, and not that many years ago, when the bold rowdiness of dancers invaded even this holy place wherein lies the body of such a blessed martyr. To repeat, it was here, as many among you who are old enough may recall, that dancers engaged in their deadly lawlessness. All during the night there was the singing of godless songs with people dancing to the singing. [. . .]

98-X-48. SERMON 315. ON THE SOLEMNITY OF THE MARTYR STEPHEN[††a]

2725 I. The first reading told you how blessed Stephen along with six others—Stephen being the seventh—was made a deacon and gained his heavenly crown. [. . .] It is indeed difficult to obtain the stories of the other martyrs in order to read them on their feastdays. Stephen's passion, however, is found in a canonical book since the Acts of the Apostles is part of the scriptural canon. According to the Church's custom we read this book beginning with Easter Sunday. [. . .]

98-X-49. SERMON 324[†††a]

2726 [. . .] A certain woman lost her sick son who, still an infant at the breast, was a catechumen. [. . .] Full of confidence, she picked up the dead child and hurried off to the shrine of the blessed martyr Stephen and began to plead for her son [. . .] who came back to life. [. . .] She immediately took him to the presbyters. He was baptized, sanctified, anointed, hands were laid upon him, and when all the mysteries [*sacramenta*] were completed, he was taken to heaven. [. . .]

98-X-50. SERMON 325. ON THE FEAST OF THE TWENTY MARTYRS[††††a]

2727 I. [. . .] You should especially remember that by reason of these solemnities we do not confer any new honor upon the martyrs. They do not need our festivities since they are now in heaven where they rejoice with

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† Translated from PL 38:1415.

a. This sermon was preached on September 14, the feast of Saint Cyprian (WEC 1:27), in 405.

1. Matt 11:17.

†† Translated from PL 38:1426.

a. This sermon was preached on December 26, the feast of Stephen, in 416/417.

††† Translated from PL 38:1447.

a. There is no date for this sermon, which itself continues a sermon given on the previous day about a miracle; it has been suggested, however, that this sermon was preached on Easter Wednesday in 426.

†††† Translated from PL 38:1447.

a. This sermon was preached on November 15, possibly in 408.

the angels. And yet they also rejoice with us if we imitate them, not honor them. If we honor them but do not imitate them, then we do nothing other than somewhat flatter them. So the reason the feasts of the martyrs have been established in Christ's Church is that the assembly of Christ's members may be encouraged to imitate his martyrs. This and this alone is the only value in having such festivities. [. . .]

98-X-51. SERMON 326. ON THE FEAST OF THE MARTYRS†a

1. The solemnity of the most holy martyrs causes us to rejoice even more 2728
than customary. We do so because the martyrs passed from this land of toil to the place of rest. They did so not by dancing but by prayer; not by drinking but by fasting; not by brawling but by suffering. [. . .]

98-X-52. SERMON 336. ON THE DEDICATION OF A CHURCH††a

1. This great assembly of people has gathered for the dedication of this 2729
house of prayer. This being a house of prayer, we ourselves are the house of God. Now if we are the house of God, we are now being built up so that at the end of the world we may be consecrated. To construct a building involves hard work; to dedicate it involves rejoicing. [. . .] "Sing to the Lord a new song; sing to the Lord, all the earth."[1] Where the psalm says "new song," the Lord said "new commandment." What is a new song unless it is a new love? Singing is what a lover does. The voice is that of the singer; the devotion is that of a holy love.

98-X-53. SERMON 342†††a

1. [. . .] We have to preach about the evening offering where we sang as 2730
we prayed "May my prayer be like incense in your sight; may the lifting up of my hands be an evening sacrifice."[1] When we pray, we see the man; when we extend our hands we acknowledge the cross, which is the sign we bear on our foreheads, the sign by which we are saved. [. . .]

98-X-54. SERMON 352††††a

III.8. I still have to say a few words about the third type of penance so 2731
that with the Lord's assistance I may fulfill my promise and carry out

† Translated from PL 38:1149.

a. This sermon was given on the feast of some martyrs. The year is uncertain.

†† Translated from PL 38:1471–72.

a. This sermon was preached sometime between 420 and 425.

1. Ps 96:1.

††† Translated from PL 38:1501.

a. Perhaps preached about 400.

1. Ps 141:2.

†††† Translated from PL 39:1558–59.

a. This sermon was preached at the beginning of Lent 402.

what I proposed. Being a grave and more serious type of penance, it is for those who are properly called penitents in the Church; these are not allowed to share in the sacrament of the altar lest by receiving unworthily they eat and drink judgment unto themselves.[1] This penance is serious, for the wound is serious: perhaps adultery has been committed; perhaps murder; perhaps some sacrilege. The matter is grave; the wound is grave, lethal, deadly. But the healer is all-powerful. [. . .]

2732 III.9. The pagans are accustomed to reproach Christians, doing so because of the Church's institution of penance; and it is against several heresies that the Catholic Church holds on to the truth of doing penance. There have been those who said that penance was not to be granted for certain kinds of sins; these people were excluded from the Church and ended up as heretics. Holy Mother Church does not lose heart over certain sins committed by its members. And so the pagans are, as it were, insulting us, not knowing what they are talking about since they have not as yet come to the word of God which makes "eloquent the tongues of infants."[2] "You," they say, "make people sin when you promise them pardon upon their doing penance. This is laxism, not education." [. . .] They say that we grant people permission to sin because we offer penance. But if admittance to penance were closed, then would not sinners all the more pile up sin upon sin since they all the more despair of being pardoned? [. . .]

98-X-55. SERMON 374[†a]

2733 XXIII. [. . .] The one who altered the route taken by the Magi now also changes the lives of sinners. It is his manifestation in the flesh—called "Epiphany" in Greek—that all those who have been "justified in the Spirit"[1] are today celebrating in common this solemnity. [. . .]

98-X-56. SERMON 392[††a]

2734 V.5. [. . .] Those who know that I am aware of their sins should refrain from Communion so that they not be rejected from the sanctuary. As to those whose sins I have no knowledge of, I summon them to God's judgment. They also are to do penance. [. . .]

99. POSSIDIUS

A friend and fellow community member of Augustine (WEC 3:98) in Hippo, Possidius (ca. 370–ca. 440) became, after 397, bishop of Calama in

1. See 1 Cor 11:29. 2. Wis 10:21.

† Translated from Dolbeau , no. 23, p. 615.

a. This sermon was preached on January 6, the feast of the Epiphany, in 409.

1. 1 Tim 3:16.

†† Translated from PL 39:1712.

a. This sermon was preached during Lent.

Numidia. His biography of Augustine, to which he attached a listing (incomplete) of Augustine's writings, was based on his personal memories as well as the resources found in the library at Hippo. According to some this informative and reliable life was written between 432 and 437; others believe the date of composition should be placed between 431 and 439.

CPL no. 358 * Bardenhewer (1913) 4:428, 441, 443, 445 * Bautz 7:862–63 * Quasten 4:345, 356 * CATH 11:669 * CE 12:318 * DCB 4:445–46 * DictSp 12.2:1997–2008 * DPAC 1:890–96 * DTC 12.2:2657 * EC 9:1838 * EEC 2:705 * EEChr 2:936 * LTK 8:453 * NCE 11:630–31 * NCES 11:553–54 * ODCC 1312 * PEA (1894) 22.1:860–61 * PEA (1991) 10:217

99-A. Life of Augustine†

xxxi. To be sure, that holy man [Augustine] enjoyed a long God-given 2735
life during which for seventy years—nearly forty of them as a priest and bishop—he served the interests and well-being of the holy Catholic Church. In his conversations with us he used to say that praiseworthy Christians and priests ought not depart the body without doing a worthy and fitting penance even after receiving baptism. This he performed during his last illness when he commanded that the few penitential psalms of David should be written out. While on his sickbed he looked at the pages placed on the opposite wall and read them, doing so with constant and copious tears. So that no one divert him from what he wanted to do, about ten days before he died he requested that we not allow anyone to visit him except at the hours when the doctors came to examine him or when food was brought to him. We carried out his request, and so there was time for prayer. Up to his final illness he incessantly preached God's word in church, doing so eagerly, forcefully, with soundness of mind and good judgment. All the members of his body being unimpaired, his sight and hearing remaining strong, and while we were present and looking on, he, as is written, "slept with the fathers, well-nourished in a good old age." The Sacrifice was offered to God, and he was buried in our presence as we prayed for the repose of his body. [. . .]

100. ARNOBIUS "THE YOUNGER"

Perhaps born in Africa, Arnobius "the Younger" (to distinguish him from Arnobius of Sicca who flourished in the third–fourth century) was a monk living in Rome during the fifth century. Few biographical details are known.

CPL nos. 239ff. * Altaner (1961) 546 * Altaner (1966) 459 * Bardenhewer (1908) 604 * Bardenhewer (1910) 456 * Bardenhewer (1913) 4:603–6 * Bardy (1930) 55–58 * Bautz

† Translated from PL 32:63–64.

1:231 * Labriolle (1947) 2:658–60 * Labriolle (1968) 427–28 * Quasten 4:567–69 * Steidle 159 * Tixeront 279–80 * CATH 1:853 * CHECL 259–61 * DCB 1:167–69 * DHGE 4:547–49 * DPAC 1:379–80 * DTC 1.2:1986–87 * EC 1:2010–11 * EEC 1:82 * EEChr 1:120 * LTK 1:1020–21 * NCE 1:844 * NCES 1:718 * ODCC 109 * PEA (1894) 2.1:1207 * PEA (1991) 2:22

G. Morin, "L'anamnèse de la messe romaine dans la première moitié du Ve siècle," RB 24 (1907) 404–7. * G. Morin, "Etude d'ensemble sur Arnobe le Jeune," RB 28 (1911) 543–90. * B. Amat, "Testimonianze di Arnobo Afro sulle assemblee liturgiche agli inizi del sec. IV," EphL 98 (1984) 513–25.

100-A. Commentaries on the Psalms[†]

This work, in which everything is interpreted as referring to Christ and the Church, is dedicated to Leontius (ordained to the episcopacy ca. 454), the bishop of Arles, and to Rusticus (d. ca. 461), the bishop of Narbonne.

100-A-1. ON PSALM 110

2736 [. . .] In the assemblies of the holy ones Psalm 110 praises the Lord's wondrous deeds, namely, his nativity, passion, resurrection, and ascension into heaven. [. . .]

100-A-2. ON PSALM 148

2737 [. . .] By the sound of this psalm we throughout the whole world daily call upon all that is in heaven and on earth to praise and bless God, doing so as soon as dawn begins to break. [. . .]

101. VICTOR OF VITA

Victor was born ca. 429/430 in the town of Vita in the northern African province of Byzacenea.

The second half of the fifth century was a period of trial for the Catholics of northern Africa since the Arian Vandals were overrunning not only Italy (Rome was sacked in 455) but also Africa. It was a time of political, cultural, and social upheaval as well as one of religious persecution brought on by the heretic invaders: the Catholic clergy were exiled, churches and other buildings were confiscated, orthodox worship was forbidden.

Victor, a priest living in Carthage, has left us, despite his partisan perspectives and often misunderstandings, a most informative description of the trials endured by orthodox Christians during these terrible years.

The date of his death is unknown; some conjecture ca. 486 or later.

[†] Translated from *Arnobii Iunioris Commentarii in Psalmos*, ed. K.-D. Daur, CCL 25 (Turnhout, 1990) 176, 254.

CPL nos. 798ff. * Altaner (1961) 587 * Altaner (1966) 488–89 * Bardenhewer (1908) 614–15 * Bardenhewer (1910) 530–31 * Bardenhewer (1913) 4:550–52 * Bautz 12:1351–55 * Jurgens 3:281–82 * Labriolle (1947) 2:691–93 * Labriolle (1968) 443–44 * Steidle 184 * Tixeront 350–51 * CATH 15:1020–21 * CE 15:415 * DCB 4:1122–23 * DictSp 16:547–52 * DPAC 2:3609–12 * DTC 15.2:2881 * EEC 2:868–69 * EEChr 2:1159 * LTK 10:770–71 * NCE 14:649 * NCES 14:482–83 * ODCC 1693 * PEA (1894) 8.2 (n.s.) 2069–71

101-A. History of the Vandal Persecution in Africa†

The *History of the Vandal Persecution in Africa* (*Historia Persecutionis Africanae Provinciae Temporum Geiserici et Hunerici Regis Vandalorum*) was written before 484 and thus before Huneric's death but only published in 488/489. Formerly divided into five books, today the work is divided into three books. Book I deals with the reign of Geiseric (428–77) and thus based on previous documentation; Books II and III, being eyewitness accounts, treat the reign of Huneric (477–84), who, though initially favorable to orthodox Christians, eventually applied to them the various edicts issued against heretics.

I.XVI. (I. 5). [. . .] Geiseric ordered that the bodies of our deceased be carried for burial in silence, without the solemnity of hymns. [. . .] 2738

I.XVIII. (I. 5). They [the orthodox bishops], filled with sorrow and sadness, departed [from Geiseric]. Deprived of their churches, they began to investigate in what manner and in what place they might celebrate the divine mysteries. [. . .] 2739

I.XLI. (I. 13). The time came for celebrating the paschal feast. In a place called Regia and for the purpose of honoring the paschal day they reopened a church that had been closed. The Arians discovered this. Immediately Anduit, one of the [Arian] priests, assembled a group of armed men, urging them to attack the crowd of innocent people. Sword in hand, some entered the building; others climbed up on the roof and shot arrows into the church through its windows. Meanwhile, God's people were listening and singing as a reader, standing on a platform, was rendering the Alleluia melody. At that very moment an arrow struck him in the throat. The book tumbled from his hands, and he fell over, dead. [. . .] 2740

I.XLII. (I. 14). We know that many others were killed by arrows and javelins immediately in front of the altar. Almost all those not slain by the sword were later on treated severely at the king's command, especially the elderly. Elsewhere, as at Tunzuda, Gales, Vicus Ammoniae, and other places, when the divine sacraments were being distributed to God's people, the Arians, raging, entered the building and, scattering Christ's Body and Blood upon the floor, with defiled feet trampled upon it. 2741

† Translated from *Victoris Episcopi Vitensis Historia Persecutionis Africanae Provinciae*, ed. M. Petschenig, CSEL 7 (Vienna, 1881) 8ff.

2742 II.XXXIV. (II. 11). The size of the multitude of people from various regions and towns who hastened to meet God's martyrs[a] is attested by the roads and footpaths which in no way were large enough to hold so many people who crossed the mountain peaks and traversed its pastures. Countless were the people who came down. Carrying candles in their hands and positioning their children before the martyrs, the people cried out, "To whom are you leaving us, we who are so pitiable, while you continue on to your crowns [of martyrdom]? Who will baptize these little ones with water from the eternal font? Who will grant us the favor of penance and free those bound by the fetters of sin, doing so by the forgiveness of reconciliation? We have been told that 'Whatever you loose upon earth will be loosed in heaven.'[1] Who will bury the dead with solemn prayers? Who will offer the accustomed rites of the divine sacrifice?" [. . .]

2743 II.XLVII. (II. 17). In Carthage lived a blind man, a noted citizen of that city. His name was Felix. When the feast of the Epiphany was at hand, he was at night visited by the Lord, who in a vision said to him, "Rise up! Go to my servant Eugenius the bishop. Tell him that I sent you. And at the hour when he blesses the font so that those coming to the faith may be baptized, he is to touch your eyes so that they may be opened and so that you may see light."

2744 II.IL. (II. 17). The bishop, hearing [that Felix had something to tell him], ordered the man to enter since the celebration of the [Epiphany] feast was already taking place, and the night hymns sung by the people were loudly resounding throughout the whole church.

2745 II.LI. (II. 17). As was the custom, the man who had been blind accompanied Eugenius to the altar. He presented the bishop with an offering of thanksgiving for his cure. The bishop, receiving it, placed it on the altar. The people's joyful excitement could not be suppressed. [. . .]

102. SYNODS

102-A. Synod of Carthage V (401)†

This synod, which enacted seventy-eight canons touching upon both dogmatic as well as disciplinary issues, was held on September 13.

Hefele (1905) 2:126–28 * Hefele (1871) 2:423–26 * EEC 1:147

2746 Canon 72. So that they be not deprived of the cleansing of the sacraments, infants, who cannot speak for themselves in this matter and for whom there are no witnesses to testify, are to be baptized without any hesitation.[a] [. . .]

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a. Namely, the orthodox Christians being exiled by the emperor Huneric.

1. Matt 18:18.

† Canons translated from *Concilia Africae de 345 à 525*, ed. C. Munier, CCL 149:201–2.

a. See Milevis (416) can. 2 (WEC 3:2749); Gerunda (517) can. 5 (WEC 4:4721).

Canon 73. The venerable day of Easter will be made known to all in a formal decree.[b] [. . .] 2747

102-B. Synod of Carthage VI (407)[†]

At this synod on June 13, the African bishops decided to hold future meetings only when required by a matter of grave concern to all.

Hefele (1905) 2.1:156–59 * Hefele (1871) 2:441–44 * DDCon 1:259 * EEC 1:147

Canon 103. To be used by all are the prayers that were approved by the council, whether prefaces, commendations, impositions of the hand.[a] In no way to be used are those contrary to the faith. To be said are only what has been gathered together by the more learned. 2748

102-C. Synod of Milevis (416)[††]

Meeting under the presidency of the bishop Silvanus, about fifty-nine or sixty bishops (among them Augustine of Hippo) gathered during the summer of 416 at Milevis in Numidia.

Hefele (1905) 2.1:184–85 * Hefele (1871) 2:455–56 * CATH 9:150 * CE 10:304 * DCA 2:1181 * DDCon 3:127–28 * DTC 10.2:1752–58

Canon 2. Anathema be anyone who denies that recently born children are to be baptized or says that if they are to be baptized for the forgiveness of sins but holds that in them there is nothing of the original sin inherited from Adam which is to be washed away in the baptismal bath so that the baptismal formula "for the forgiveness of sins" is not to be understood literally but figuratively. There is only one way that we can understand what was said by the apostle, "Through one man sin entered the world and through sin death, and so death came to all since all have sinned,"[1] and this is how the Catholic Church, which has spread everywhere, has understood it. Because of this rule of faith young children, who themselves are unable to sin, are baptized for the forgiveness of sins so that what they have inherited through birth may be cleansed in them through rebirth.[a] 2749

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b. See Orleans IV (541) can. 1 (WEC 4:4615); Auxerre (late 6th or early 7th c.) can. 2 (WEC 4:4630); Braga II (572) can. 9 (WEC 4:4761).

[†] Canon translated from CCL 149:218.

a. See Hippo (393) *Brev. Hipp.* ser. 2 can. 21-b (WEC 2:885); Milevis (416) can. 12 (WEC 3:2750).

[††] Canons translated from CCL 149:361–65.

a. See Carthage V (401) can. 72 (WEC 3:2746); Gerunda (517) can. 5 (WEC 4:4721). This same canon is also ascribed to the Synod of Carthage in 418; see CCL 149:69–70.

1. Rom 5:12.

2750 Canon 12. The prayers, orations, and formulas [*missae*] that were approved by the council, both prefaces and commendations and impositions of the hand, are to be used by all.[b] To be said in church are only what the more learned have gathered together[c] and what has been approved by the synod so that nothing be composed contrary to faith or through ignorance or by individual effort.

103. INSCRIPTION. EPITAPH FROM HIPPO[†]

This inscription dates from the fourth or fifth century.

2751 Here lies the body of a child to be named.
O blessed child, for a few days the earth held you
and then gave you up to the heavenly kingdom.
Therefore you were born so that, being reborn, you might gain such great things.

ITALY

104. CHROMATIUS OF AQUILEIA

Becoming bishop of Aquileia ca. 388, Chromatius seems to have been one of the most prominent bishops of northern Italy. He was a lover of the poor, a staunch opponent of Arianism, a defender of John Chrysostom (WEC 2:74), a mediator (unsuccessfully so) between Rufinus (WEC 3:105) and Jerome (WEC 3:145), and a provider of financial resources to assist Jerome in his literary work. Chromatius died in 407.

CPL nos. 217ff. * Altaner (1966) 457–58 * Bardenhewer (1913) 3:548–49 * Quasten 4:572–74 * Steidle 152 * Tixeront 240 * CATH 2:1097 * CE 3:730 * DCB 1:503–4 * DictSp 2.1:878–79 * DPAC 1:867 * EC 4:1001 * EEC 1:166 * EEChr 1:252 * LTK 2:1184 * NCE 3:665 * NCES 3:564 * ODCC 339 * PEA (1894) 3.2:2452–53

P. de Puniet, "Les trois homélies catéchétiques du 'Sacramentaire Gélasien' pour la tradition des Evangiles, du Symbole et de l'Oraison dominicale," RHE 6 (1905) 15–32, 304–18. * M.L. Palazzi, "Aspetti liturgici nelle omelie di Cromazio di Aquileia," EphL 90 (1976) 29–42. * G. Trettel, *"Mysterium e sacramentum" in san Cromazio* (Trieste, 1979). * D. Corgnali, "Il mistero pasquale in Cromazio d'Aquileia," diss. (Udine, 1979). * V. Cian, *L'anno liturgico nella opere de S. Cromazio di Aquileia* (Trieste, 1996). * M.A. Mascari, "Zeno, Gaudentius, and Chromatius: The Dynamics of Preaching in Northern Italy, 360–420," diss. (Washington, D.C., 1996).

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b. See Hippo (393) *Brev. Hipp.* ser. 2 can. 21-b (WEC 2:885); Carthage VI (407) can. 103 (WEC 3:2748).

c. See Carthage VI (407) can. 103 (WEC 3:2748).

[†] Translated from J. Gag, "Use epitaph craton d'Afrique," RHPR 9 (1929) 377.

104-A. Sermons on Matthew's Gospel

It has only been within the last hundred years that the many sermons and tracts by Chromatius on Matthew's Gospel have been discovered and published. The preacher's approach is literal, not allegorical. His intent is moral exhortation, not doctrinal instruction.

104-A-1. SERMON 14. "ON THE HEALING OF THE PARALYTIC AND ON BAPTISM"†

I. Beloved, as you just heard in today's reading, when our Lord and 2752
Savior came to Jerusalem, he found there a pool with five porticoes; in Hebrew this pool is called Bethesda.[1] This pool was the perfect image of future baptism. But just as the image differs from reality, so the grace of this pool differs from the grace of salutary baptism. The water of this pool became agitated only once a year whereas the water of the Church's baptism is always ready to be moved. The water of the pool was moved in one place only whereas that of baptism is moved throughout the whole world. There an angel came down; here it is the Holy Spirit. There it was the grace of an angel; here it is the mystery of the Trinity. There the water cured only one person each year; here people are saved every day. The water of the pool healed only the body; that of baptism heals both body and soul. The former heals only sickness; the latter also heals sin. The former delivers the body only from sickness; the latter delivers body and soul from sin. Being in the water of the pool healed a multitude of illnesses because healing occurred only once a year; no one remains at the water of baptism other than those wishing to come so that they might be cured; the water is always ready to cure from the moment someone comes to be cured. In fact, the pagans came to this water and were cured; the Jews, unwilling to come, forever remained in their illness.

IV. Now we must consider what the Lord in today's reading said to the 2753
man who was cured after thirty-eight years. "Behold, you are henceforth cured. Sin no more lest something worse befall you."[2] All your sins are forgiven you; you are healed from every sickness of sin, from spiritual weariness, from bodily weakness, from the affliction of illicit desire; as a new person you have risen from the bath of new birth. Take care that you do not return to your former sins, putting yourselves in danger of death, for the grace of baptism is given only once. If it is lost through negligence, or rather through unfaithfulness, one is personally guilty of his or her own death since there was no desire to conserve so great a grace. This is why before coming for baptism you were asked whether you renounced the world, its pomps, and its works. You answered that you did so, and

† Translated from *Sermons [de] Chromace d'Aquilée*, vol. 1, ed. H. Tardif and J. Lemarié, SChr 154 (Paris, 1969) 238–40, 242–47.

1. See John 5:2. 2. John 5:14.

accordingly you received the grace of eternal baptism. Your words remain with God; your response is inscribed in the heavens. To God you promised your faith; you promised in the presence of the angels because the angels are present when faith is requested from us. Consider what you are doing. If a promise made to another person strongly binds us, then what about a promise made to God? "By your words," as it is written, "you will be either justified or condemned."[3] You will be justified if you carry out what you have promised to Christ; you will be condemned if you do not desire to preserve the faith you have sworn. Listen to the words of Solomon, "You are snared with the words of your own mouth."[4]

2754 Dealing with the strong [God], we should keep the faith we have sworn and conserve the grace that we have received, thus avoiding being totally disordered on the day of judgment when we will hear, "Friend, how do you gain entrance here without having a wedding robe?"[5] and, seized by the hands and feet, being thrown into the darkness outside. This is why Solomon says to you, "May your garments always be white, and may oil not depart from your head."[6] If we keep intact the grace of our baptism, then we always have white garments. If we keep the salutary chrism that we have received, then we always have oil on the head. In this way we will not be thrown into disorder on the day of judgment but will merit to rejoice with all the saints and God's elect in the eternal kingdom.

104-A-2. SERMON 16. "SERMON 1 ON THE GREAT NIGHT"†

2755 1. All the vigils that are celebrated in the Lord's honor are certainly pleasing to God and accepted by him. But this vigil is above all others; this night in particular bears the name of the "vigil of the Lord." In fact, we read, "This is the vigil of the Lord which all the children of Israel are to observe."[1] This night is rightly called the "vigil of the Lord" because he kept watch for this during his lifetime so that we might henceforth not be asleep in death. He has, in fact, accepted the sleep of death through the mystery of his passion; but this death of the Lord has become the vigil of the whole world because Christ's death has removed from us the sleep of eternal death. He himself said so through the prophet, "After I have slept and kept vigil my sleep was pleasing to me."[2] Certainly this sleep of Christ, which has called us from the bitterness of death to the sweetness of life, can only be pleasing.

2756 This night, then, bears the name of the "vigil of the Lord" because he was keeping watch, even in the sleep of his suffering, as he himself shows through Solomon who said, "I sleep," he says, "but my heart is awake."[3] By this he shows the mystery of his divinity and flesh. He has slept according to the flesh, but his divinity was keeping watch since divinity

3. Matt 12:37. 4. Prov 6:2. 5. Matt 22:12. 6. Eccl 9:8.

† Translated from SChr 154:258–67.

1. Exod 12:42. 2. Ps 3:5; Jer 31:26. 3. Cant 5:2.

cannot sleep. We read, in effect, the following in regard to Christ's divinity, "He who guards Israel will neither sleep nor slumber."[4] By saying, "I sleep but my heart is awake," he means the same thing since in the sleep of his suffering he has slept in the flesh but his divinity went to the nether world for the purpose of leading out from there those being held captive. Our Lord and Savior, in fact, desired to bring light everywhere so that he might show mercy to all. He descended from heaven to earth in order to visit the world; and again descended from the earth to the nether world in order to bring light to those being held captive there, as the prophet said, "You who are seated in the darkness and in the shadow of death, the light has risen upon you."[5] And so it is fitting to call this night the "vigil of the Lord" since this is when he not only illuminated this world but also shed light upon those in the nether world.

II. Consequently the angels in heaven, the people on the earth, and 2757
the souls of the faithful in the nether world, all celebrate this "vigil of the Lord." The angels do so in heaven because Christ, by means of his death, destroyed death, trampled on what is below, saved the world, and freed all people. Rightly do they celebrate, for the salvation of the world causes them to rejoice. Now when one sinner repents, as we read in the Gospel, there is reason for the angels to rejoice in heaven;[6] and so how much more reason is there to rejoice at the redemption of the whole world. People on earth celebrate because it is for the salvation of the human race that Christ died, doing so to conquer death by means of death. Also the souls of the faithful in the nether world celebrate the vigil because Christ descended there so that he might end the reign of death over them.

Is it astonishing that the angels in heaven, the people on earth, and the 2758
souls in the nether world celebrate this vigil of the Lord since he who deigned to die for us is the creator of heaven, of earth, and of the nether world? Yet even more can be said: yes, this "vigil of the Lord" the Father himself celebrates with the Son and with the Holy Spirit because it accords with the will of the Father that the Son underwent death in order to give us life by this death. This vigil, then, is not only a feast for people and angels, but also for the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit since the salvation of this world is joy for the Trinity. This is why we should celebrate with all devotion the vigil of this magnificent night: during it death was destroyed, the world was redeemed, and the people were given freedom.

III. Rightly, then, is this night called the "vigil of the Lord" since the 2759
whole world celebrates it in honor of his name. There are as many prayers of each as there are desires; there are as many lights as there are vows and requests. The darkness of the night is overcome by the light of devotion.

The angels in heaven rejoice at the solemnity of this vigil; people on 2760
earth rejoice. Even the powers of the nether world rejoice because the great solemnity of this night has reached them. Even though the Jews and

4. Ps 121:4. 5. Isa 9:2. 6. See Luke 15:7, 10.

the pagans still seem strangers to this solemnity, they are not, however, without their own rejoicing because at work in them is a certain hidden grace as well as the power of Christ's name which rules over all. Yes, a number of pagans and Jews celebrate the solemnity of this vigil—which is ours—as if it were their own, observing it by means of inward joy if not by religious rites.

104-A-3. SERMON 17. "SERMON 2 ON THE GREAT NIGHT"†

2761 I. Throughout the whole world the paschal vigil is celebrated during this night, thus witnessing the grandeur of tonight's solemnity. This is as it should be, for during this night death was conquered, Life lives, and Christ rose from among the dead. [. . .]

2762 III. This is the paschal time. In ages past Moses spoke of it to the people, saying, "This month will be for you the first month of the year."[1] And so Moses has called the present solemnity the first solemnity and the beginning of the year. Consequently we should reckon the beginning of the year from this time when we have been saved from death. Consequently the pagans, holding as they do that January is the first month, are greatly mistaken. How can January be the first month of the year when it is a month when the whole world, in some way, finds itself without beauty and dried up? For at that time there is neither foliage upon the earth, nor flowers on the trees, nor buds on the vines. The first month of the year, then, is not January during which all is dead, but the time of the Pasch when everything returns to life. It is now that the meadow-grass, as it were, assumes new life; now there are flowers on the trees, and the vines are budding; now the air itself is, as it were, happy with the beginning of a new year; now the helmsman can in all security set off to sea. This time of the Pasch is thus the first month, the new season when even the elements of the world are given new life. Certainly there is nothing astonishing in the fact that at this time the world is renewed since on this day the human race is renewed. Throughout the whole world on this day the water of baptism raises up innumerable people with new life, now being freed from their former sins. At this time, in fact, the sheep themselves also lie down, feeling secure because no longer must they fear winter's cold. At this time the Church of God, like a spiritual sheep, brings forth for Christ the flocks of the faithful as if they were lambs; it nourishes them with the milk of life and the drink of salvation. [. . .]

2763 IV. And so the pagans, who believe that the first month, the new year, is the month of January, are greatly mistaken; but we should not be surprised that they are mistaken about the season when they are also mistaken in matters of religion. As for us who believe that the time of the Pasch is truly the new year, we should celebrate this holy day with all

† Translated from SChr 154:268–75.

1. See Exod 12:2.

cheerfulness, exultation, and spiritual joy so that in all truth we can repeat this refrain from the psalm we have just sung, "This is the day the Lord has made; let us rejoice in it."[2] We can say this with all confidence if we completely obey his commandments so as to arrive at life eternal and the everlasting joy of the kingdom of heaven.

105. RUFINUS OF AQUILEIA

Born ca. 345 in the northern Italian village of Concordia, located near Aquileia, Rufinus (*Tiranius Rufinus*) studied in Rome, where Jerome (WEC 3:145) urged him to become a monk. He traveled to Egypt to live in the desert, doing so for eight years, and then to Jerusalem, where he was ordained a presbyter. First a good friend of Jerome, then a detested adversary due to Jerome's bitter unhappiness with Rufinus's translation of the works of Origen (WEC 1:43), nonetheless, Rufinus is best known for his skill at translating. If it were not due to his translations of Greek theological literature, many valuable treatises from Christian antiquity would simply have been lost to us. Rufinus died in 410 on the island of Sicily.

CPL nos. 195ff. * Altaner (1961) 459–62 * Altaner (1966) 392–94 * Bardenhewer (1908) 453–55 * Bardenhewer (1910) 393–95 * Bardenhewer (1913) 3:549–61 * Bardy (1930) 110–13 * Bautz 8:959–72 * Cross 127–28 * Hamell 138–39 * Jurgens 2:179–82 * Quasten 4:247–54 * Steidle 157–59 * Tixeront 241–43 * CATH 13:205–7 * CE 13:222 * CHECL 322–26 * DCB 4:555–61 * DictSp 13:1107–17 * DPAC 2:3034–35 * DTC 14.1:153–60 * EC 10:1436–38 * EEC 2:746 * EEChr 2:1002–3 * LTK 8:1350 * NCE 12:702–4 * NCES 12:404–6 * ODCC 1423 * PEA (1894) 1.1. (2.s. R-Z) 1193–96 * PEA (1991) 10:1154 * TRE 29:460–64

105-A. Commentary on the Apostles' Creed†

One of the relatively few original works by Rufinus, this commentary, written 401–4 while Rufinus was in Italy, gives us the earliest continuous Latin text of the fourth-century creed. Partially based on the catechetical method Rufinus knew in Jerusalem, the treatise testifies to the creed's textual variations among the various local churches.

III. Before beginning to discuss the meaning of the words, I believe it is 2764
not inopportune to mention that in different churches various additions are made to this article.[a] This is not true, however, in the church found in the city of Rome. The reason for this, I think, is that on the one hand, no heresy has ever originated there; on the other hand, Rome retains the ancient practice whereby those who will receive the gift of baptism repeat the creed in public, namely, so that all the people can hear what each one

2. Ps 118:24.

† Translated from *Opera*, ed. M. Simonetti, CCL 20 (Turnhout, 1961) 135–36.

a. Namely, the first article of the creed, "I believe in God the almighty Father."

is saying. As a result the ears of those who already believe will not permit a single word to be added. But in other places, as I understand, additions appear to have been made because of certain heretics so that, as was believed, doctrinal innovation might be excluded. We, however, follow the order we received when we received the gift of baptism in the church of Aquileia. [. . .]

106. PAULINUS OF MILAN

A deacon in Milan, Paulinus became Ambrose's (WEC 2:53) secretary and, sometime after the bishop's death, was sent to Africa to oversee certain properties located there that belonged to the church of Milan. It was in Africa and quite likely in 422 that he wrote, at the suggestion of Augustine, a biography of Ambrose. The work, although appealing to the religious imagination of the time with its inclusion of "wonderful" events and happenings, is generally considered quite reliable.

106-A. Life of Saint Ambrose[†]

2765 X. About the same time when he [Ambrose] was invited to offer the Sacrifice in the home of a most illustrious lady living across the Tiber, a certain woman, who was in charge of a bath [. . .] there touched his garment while he was praying and imposing hands on her. [. . .]

2766 XIII. [. . .] The Arians attempted to break into the Portian Basilica, incited as they were by even greater fury; an armed force was ordered to guard the church's doors so that no one would dare enter this building belonging to the Catholics. But the Lord, who customarily allows his Church to overcome its enemies, changed the hearts of the soldiers so that they would protect his church; turning their shields, they watched over the church's doors, not allowing the people within to depart nor forbidding the Catholics without to enter into the building. Furthermore, the soldiers appointed for the task were not satisfied doing only this. They joined the people in proclaiming the Catholic faith.

2767 At this time antiphons, hymns, and vigils began to be celebrated in the Milanese church, and reverence for this custom has continued down to the present day, not only in that church but throughout almost all the provinces of the West.

2768 XLVII. [. . .] Not many days later he [Ambrose] was taken from our midst.

2769 On the very day when he departed for the Lord, from about the eleventh hour up to the hour of his death, he was praying, with his hands extended in cross-like fashion; we saw his lips moving but did not hear his voice.

2770 Honoratus, a priest of the church of Vercelli who was resting in one of the house's upper chambers, heard someone calling him for the third

[†] Translated from *Vita di S. Ambrogio*, ed. M. Pellegrino (Rome, 1961) 118–22.

time, "Get up, hurry, because he is about to die." So he came down and presented the Lord's Body to the holy man [Ambrose] who, accepting and swallowing it, immediately died, carrying with him the good viaticum [*Viaticum*] so that his soul, strengthened and refreshed by this food, now rejoices in the company of the angels. [. . .]

XLVIII. Then after his death, which occurred an hour before dawn, his 2771
body was carried to the greater church and remained there throughout the night during which we observed the Paschal Vigil. Many infants who had been baptized, when coming from the font, saw him. Some said he was seated upon the platform, whereas others used their fingers to indicate to their parents that he was walking. But these parents were unable to see him, their eyes not being clean. Many related that they saw a star above his body.

At dawn on the Lord's Day and after the holy sacraments had been 2772
celebrated, when his body was being held on high so that it could be carried from the church to the Ambrosian Basilica, a company of demons who were present there cried out that they were being tormented by him. [. . .]

[. . .] A very large crowd joined in the funeral procession, men and 2773
women of every class and age, not only Christians but also Jews and pagans. Because of their greater grace, those who were [recently?] baptized led the procession.

107. GAUDENTIUS OF BRESCIA

Few details are known as to the life of Gaudentius. A friend of Ambrose (WEC 2:53), Gaudentius became bishop of Brescia in northern Italy sometime before 397 upon the death of Filaster (WEC 2:54). In 404–5 he with two other Italian bishops went to Constantinople, where they unsuccessfully pleaded the case of John Chrysostom (WEC 2:74) before the emperor Arcadius. Gaudentius was even imprisoned for a time. It seems that he developed a reputation as a preacher, a number of his homilies having come down to us. We do not know the date of his death.

CPL no. 215 * Altaner (1961) 432–33 * Altaner (1966) 369 * Bardenhewer (1913) 3:485–86 * Bautz 2:185–86 * DPAC 2:1435–36 * Quasten 4:133–35 * Steidle 152 * CE 6:393–94 * DHGE 20:28 * DictSp 6:139–43 * DTC 6.1:1166 * EC 5:1962 * EEC 1:337 * EEChr 1:452 * LTK 4:5302 * NCE 6:302 * NCES 6:110 * ODCC 656 * PEA (1894) 7.1:859–61 * PEA (1991) 4:811

A. L'Huillier, "Che cosa sappiamo noi della liturgia di Brescia al tempo di s. Gaudenzio," *Brixia sacra* 2 (1911) 291–94. * H.A. Birch, *A Comparison of the Styles of Gaudentius of Brescia, the "De sacramentis" (ascribed to St. Ambrose) and the "Didascalia Apostolorum" or "Fragmenta Veronensia,"* (Risca [Monmouth], 1924). * L. Boehrer, "Gaudentius of Brescia: Sermons and Letters," diss. (Washington, D.C., 1965). * C. Truzzi, *Zeno, Gaudenzio e Cromazio: testi e contenuti della predicazione cristiana per le chiese di Verona, Brescia e Aquileia (360–410 ca.)*, Testie ricerche di scienze religiose

[Istituto per le scienze religiose di Bologna] 22 (Brescia, 1985). * M.A. Mascari, "Zeno, Gaudentius, and Chromatius: The Dynamics of Preaching in Northern Italy, 360–420," diss. (Washington, D.C., 1996). * G. Bruni, *Pasqua, primavera della storia: teologia del tempo nei testi omiletici di Gaudenzio di Brescia*, Scripta Pontificiae Facultatis Theologicae "Marianum" 55 (Rome, 2000).

107-A. Sermons

Benevolus, a court official, requested that Gaudentius send him a copy of some of the bishop's homilies since Benevolus was unable to be present when these sermons were given. Gaudentius complied and sent Benevolus ten sermons given during Easter Week; included were an additional five homilies. To this original corpus of fifteen sermons, modern scholars, on the basis of internal evidence, have added another six. And so today we have twenty-one sermons, all characterized by typological interpretation.

107-A-1. SERMON 2. ON EXODUS†

2774 [. . .] Let us learn what motivated Christ to institute the heavenly sacrifice. Truly we have inherited this sacrifice as a gift from the New Testament. It is a gift given us on the very night when he was handed over to be crucified; a gift presented to us as a pledge of his presence. It is the provision [*viaticum*] for our journey by which we are fed and nourished along the way of life till, leaving this world, we go on to him. And so this same Lord said, "Unless you eat my flesh and drink my blood, you will not have life within you."[1] He desired that his blessings remain with us, that souls redeemed by his precious blood be ever sanctified through the image [*per imaginem*] of his own passion. Consequently he commanded his faithful disciples, whom he made the first priests of his Church, to carry out these mysteries of eternal life. All priests must celebrate these mysteries in all the world's churches till Christ's return from heaven so that each day priests and all the faithful may have before their eyes the representation of Christ's passion. This we hold in our hands; this we receive in our mouths and in our hearts. May we hold fast to the indelible memory of our redemption, and may we obtain the sweet medicine of everlasting protection against the devil's potion, for as the Holy Spirit exhorts, "Taste and see how good is the Lord."[2]

2775 There are two reasons why he appointed the sacraments of his Body and Blood to be offered under the appearance [*in specie*] of bread and wine. First, so that the spotless Lamb of God might present an unblemished offering to a pure people, an offering celebrated without fire, without blood, without animal liquid, an offering readily available and easy

† Translated from *S. Gaudentii Episcopi Brixiensis Tractatus*, ed. A. Glveck, CSEL 68 (Vienna, 1936) 30–32.

1. John 6:53. 2. Ps 34:8.

for all to offer. Because bread is made from many grains of flour[a] mixed with water and is brought about by fire, it is a figure of Christ's body which, as we know, has been made into one from the many members of the human race and has been perfected through the fire of the Holy Spirit. [. . .] The same is true for the wine of his blood, made from the numerous grapes of the vineyard planted by him; it is extracted from the wine-press of the cross, and when we receive it with faithful hearts, like an enormous wineskin it ferments by its own power. [. . .]

108. INNOCENT I, POPE

Certainly one of the most influential individuals in the development of the papacy, Innocent I (pope from 401/402) was a strong advocate for the authority of the bishop of Rome, not only in doctrinal affairs but also in liturgical and various disciplinary matters. Disputes as to orthodoxy and practice were to be resolved by the Apostolic See. His papacy was marked by Alaric's sack of Rome in 410 (Innocent was in Ravenna at the time); by a strong papal condemnation of Pelagianism at the request of certain African bishops; and by an increasing Christianization of society: e.g., games were forbidden on Sunday (409), ecclesiastical property was not to be taxed (411), pagan buildings were to be handed over to the Church (415). Furthermore, Innocent did not hesitate to involve himself in certain affairs of the Eastern Churches, e.g., his unsuccessful attempt to have an ecumenical synod that would deal with John Chrysostom's (WEC 2:74) deposition at the Synod of the Oak (403). Innocent I died on March 12, 417.

CPL nos. 1641ff. * Altaner (1961) 416 * Altaner (1966) 356 * Bardenhewer (1913) 4:613–17 * Bautz 2:1280 * Jurgens 3:179–83 * Leigh-Bennett 9–17 * Quasten 4:582–85 * Steidle 146 * Tixeront 276 * CATH 5:1645–47 * CE 8:11–12 * DCB 3:243–49 * DHGE 25:1256–57 * DPAC 2:1784–85 * DTC 7.2:1940–50 * EC 7:6–7 * EEC 1:409–10 * EEChr 1:573–74 * LTK 5:514–15 * NCE 7:519–20 * NCES 7:467–69 * ODCC 833–34 * PEA (1991) 5:1007–8

E.H. Connolly, "Pope Innocent I de nominibus recitandis," JThSt 20 (1918) 215–36. * G. Malchiodi, *La lettera di S. Innocenzo I a Decenzio vescovo di Gubbio* (Rome, 1921). * G. Ellard, "How Fifth Century Rome Administered Sacraments: St. Innocent I Advises an Umbrian Bishop," TS 9 (1948) 3–19. * O. Vighetti, "I sacramenti della penitenza e dell'ordine nell dottrina giuridica di S. Innocenzo I," *Miscellanea Franciscana* 51 (1951) 39–61; 54 (1952) 92–112. * J. MacDonald, "Imposition of Hands in the Letters of Innocent I," SP 2, 49–53, TU 64 (Berlin, 1957). * E. Griffe, "Trois textes importants pour l'histoire du canon de la Messe," BLE 59 (1958) 65–72. * B. Capelle, "Innocent I[er] et le canon de la Messe," RTAM 19 (1952) 5–16; repr. in *Travaux liturgiques*, vol. 2 (Louvain, 1962) 236–47. * V. Monachino, "La lettera decretale di Innocenzo I a Decenzio vescovo di Gubbio," in *Ricercha sull'Umbria tardo-antica*

a. See *Didache* IX.4 (WEC 1:186).

e preromanica (Perugia, 1965) 211–34. * C. Vogel, "Vulneratum Caput: position d'Innocent Ier (402–417) sur la validité de la chirontonie presbytérial conferée par un évêque hérétique," RAC 49 (1973) 375–84. * R. Cabié, *La Lettre du Pape Innocent Ier à Decentius de Gubbio (19 Mars 416): texte critique, traduction et commentaire* (Louvain, 1973). * M.F. Connell, *Church and Worship in Fifth-Century Rome: The Letter of Innocent I to Decentius of Gubbio* (Cambridge, 2002).

108-A. Letters

The only known writings of Innocent I that have come down to us are his thirty-six letters. He wrote to the bishops of Spain, Africa, Italy, Gaul, among others—often varying his approach to suit the recipient(s) of his message. His most famous letter, at least liturgically, is that to Decentius of Gubbio (Letter 25).

108-A-1. LETTER 2. TO VICTRICIUS, BISHOP OF ROUEN†a

2776 VIII.11. Those coming from Novatianism[b] or Montanism[c] are to be received only through the imposition of the hand because people converting from heresy have already been baptized in the name of the Lord. Those who left the Church, who were rebaptized by heretics, who have acknowledged their downfall, and who now choose to return are to be received after undergoing a long period of penance.

2777 XIII.15. Those who are spiritually wedded to Christ and have merited to receive the veil from a priest, if afterwards they openly marry or allow themselves to be secretly corrupted, are only to be admitted to penance when the person he or she married has departed this world. [. . .]

2778 XIV.16. Those who promised virginity but have not yet received the veil and have perhaps married are to do penance for a period of time. [. . .]

108-A-2. LETTER 6. TO EXSUPERIUS, BISHOP OF TOULOUSE††a

2779 II.5. The question is what should be done regarding the baptized who at the time of death request both penance and the reconciliation of Communion even though they have habitually engaged in impure delights.

2780 II.6. Past practice was more harsh; present practice is more lenient. Formerly penance was granted but Communion was denied. Cruel

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† Translated from PL 20:475, 478–80.

a. Written on February 15, 404.

b. Novatianism: a schism in the Western Church whose adherents stressed the immanence of the parousia.

c. Montanism: A movement, begun by a certain Montanus during the years 155–60 in Phrygia, that also stressed the immanence of the parousia. Fasting, almsgiving, and in general a strong ethical rigorism were practiced as a preparation for the end.

†† Translated from PL 20:498–99.

a. Written on February 20, 405.

persecutions were taking place at that time. As a result Communion was not granted, and rightly so. Readiness to grant Communion might not deter from apostasy those assured of reconciliation. On the other hand, penance was granted so that sinners not be denied everything. Because of the times, forgiveness was more difficult to obtain. But after the Lord restored peace to his Church and there was no longer any reason to be fearful, it was decided that Communion be given to the dying. It was given as *Viaticum* for those embarking on a journey, the reason being the Lord's mercy and so that we not seem to follow the heretic Novatian[b] in harshness and severity by denying penance. Therefore Communion together with penance will be given at the end so that those in their last moments may, our Savior permitting, be freed from eternal damnation.

108-A-3. LETTER 17. TO RUFUS AND THE OTHER BISHOPS OF MACEDONIA[†a]

v.10. [. . .] Reason makes evident what is different in the two heresies: 2781
the Paulianists[b] by no means baptize in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit; the Novatians[c] baptize using these same awesome and venerable names; they have never questioned the unity of the divine power, namely, that of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. [. . .]

108-A-4. LETTER 25. TO DECENTIUS, BISHOP OF GUBBIO[††a]

If the Lord's priests [*sacerdotes*[b]] desired to keep in their entirety the 2782
Church's institutions as these were handed down from the blessed apostles, there would in fact be no divergences, no variety in liturgical rites and prayers. But as soon as it is no longer tradition but each person's own will that is observed, it follows that differences will appear in various places and churches relating to matters of discipline and liturgy. This causes scandal among the people. Not realizing that the ancient traditions were corrupted

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b. Novatian: the Roman priest who was the founder of a rigorist movement that bears his name.

† Translated from PL 20:533.

a. Written on December 13, 414.

b. Paulianists: followers of Paul of Samasota, a third-century heretical bishop of Antioch.

c. Novatians: members of a rigorist religious movement in the latter half of the third century in Rome.

†† Translated from *La lettre du Pape Innocent Ier à Decentius de Gubbio*, ed. R. Cabié, (Rome, 1972) 19–33. Excellent notes together with a translation are given in M.F. Connell, *Church and Worship in Fifth-Century Rome*, as listed in the introductory bibliography.

a. Written on March 19, 416.

b. Here as elsewhere Innocent uses the term *sacerdos* to designate the bishop, a priest, or both.

by human presumption, the people believe that the churches do not agree or even that contradictory practices were introduced, practices contrary to those coming from the apostles or their very disciples.

2783 Who does not know or fails to notice what has been transmitted to the Roman church by Peter, the first of the apostles, and has been maintained up to the present? This is what all of us are to follow so that nothing is added or introduced that lacks this authority or pretends to have received its model elsewhere. It is clear that in all Italy, Gaul, Spain, Africa, Sicily and the islands scattered among these countries no one has established a church except those to whom the venerable apostle Peter or his successors made priests [*sacerdotes*]. Those doubting this should investigate to determine if in these areas is found another apostle or any witness of his teaching. If they do not find this in any document—for in no place does it appear—then they should follow the tradition of the Roman church from which they surely have their origin lest listening to outlandish claims they seem to neglect the very source of their institutions. I know that you have frequently come to Rome and gathered with us in church. For this reason you are aware of the customs observed here in consecrating the mysteries and in the other secret rites. May this suffice in the formation or re-formation of your church, especially in cases where your predecessors weakened certain of these observances or followed others concerning which you have consulted us. And so we respond to these questions, not that we believe you are ignorant about them but so that you might have more authority when instructing your people or—should some of them have abandoned the practices of the Roman church—in reproving them and so that you might immediately inform us as to those who are introducing novelties or believe that the tradition of a church other than that of Rome is to be followed.

2784 1. As to the peace, you say that some among you announce it to the people before the celebration of the mysteries[c] or that the priests [*sacerdotes*] share it among themselves. Yet the peace must be given after all the things concerning which I ought not to speak.[d] It is, in fact, clear that by it the people consent to all that has taken place in the mysteries and to what is celebrated in the Church; it shows that the peace concludes these things.

2785 2. As to the recitation of the names before the priest [*sacerdos*] says the canon and in his prayer commends the offerings of those whose names are recited, it is useless—in your wisdom you can understand this—not to mention the names of the persons presenting the gifts till you offer the sacrifice to God. The reason is that nothing is hidden from God. It is necessary first to commend the offerings and then to mention the names of those presenting them so that these persons be named within the holy mysteries and not during what precedes them; by the mysteries themselves we open the way to the prayers that follow.

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c. The eucharistic prayer?

d. Perhaps a reference to the "discipline of the secret."

3. As to the signing of the infants,[e] it is clear that this is not to be done 2786
by anyone other than the bishop. Although sharing in the priesthood, presbyters do not have the highest rank of the pontificate. The bishop alone ministers the consignation or the giving of the Spirit Paraclete. Proof for this comes not only from the practice of the Church but also from the Acts of the Apostles which says that Peter and John were sent to confer the Holy Spirit upon those who were already baptized.[1] In fact, when presbyters baptize, whether the bishop is present or not, presbyters may anoint the baptized with chrism provided it has been consecrated by the bishop; yet they are not to sign the forehead with this oil since it is only bishops who confer the Spirit Paraclete. As to the words, I cannot cite them lest I appear to betray[f] more than is required to reply to your question.

4. It is most evident that a fast is to be observed on Saturday. If in fact 2787
we celebrate the Lord's Day because of our Lord Jesus Christ's resurrection—doing so not only at Easter but each week renewing the image of this feast—and if we fast on Friday because of the Lord's suffering, then we should not omit Saturday which appears to be enclosed between a time of sorrow and a time of joy. In fact, it is evident that during these two days the apostles were in sorrow and hid themselves, doing so because of their fear of the Jews. In any case, there can be no doubt that their fasting during these two days has been remembered to such an extent that, according to the Church's tradition, the sacraments are not celebrated during these two days. This practice is to be observed each week so that the commemoration of this day be always observed. If one believes that it is necessary to fast only once and on this one Saturday only, then the celebration of Sunday and Friday would occur only at Easter. If, on the other hand, the memory of Sunday and Friday is to be renewed each week, it is stupid to observe the customs of the two days while omitting Saturday since these two days have a similar purpose. On Friday the Lord suffered his passion and went to the nether world in order to rise on the third day, thereby restoring joy after the sadness of the preceding two days. We do not deny that fasting on Friday is necessary, but we add that it is necessary to fast on also Saturday since these two days brought sorrow to the apostles and to those who followed Christ. These, who rejoiced on the Lord's Day, desired not only that this day be very festive, but they also believed that it should be repeated each week.

5. As to the *fermentum*[g] which we send on Sunday to the various titular 2788
churches, there is no reason for you to consult us on this matter. Here, in

e. Liturgically the term *infans* refers to one who has just been baptized, whether an infant or an adult.

f. See note d above.

g. *Fermentum*: the name given to the fragments of the consecrated bread sent by the pope to the presbyters in the titular (Roman city) churches.

1. See Acts 8:14–17.

fact, all the churches are located within the city. Because of the people entrusted to their care the presbyters of these churches cannot celebrate with us, and so by means of the acolytes they receive the *fermentum* prepared by us so that on Sunday they do not feel separated from communion with us. But this should not, I believe, be done in rural areas of the diocese because the sacraments are not to be carried great distances. We ourselves do not send the *fermentum* to presbyters located in the various cemetery churches since these can rightfully and lawfully consecrate it themselves.

2789 6. Regarding those who after baptism are possessed by a demon and fall into some vice or sin, you ask me whether a presbyter or a deacon can or should give them the "consignation" [*consignari*].[h] This is allowed only if the bishop has granted permission to do so. In fact, the hand is never to be imposed on them unless the bishop has authorized this. For this to happen, the bishop has only to order that the hand be laid upon them by a presbyter or by other clerics. In fact, how can one easily bring to the bishop a possessed person who lives far off should an incident occur on the road and the person cannot readily be taken to the bishop nor returned home?

2790 7. As to those doing penance either for grave sins or for less important ones, the practice of the Roman church is to be followed unless some sickness intervenes. Reconcile them on the Thursday before the Pasch. As to judging the gravity of their sins, this task falls upon the priest [*sacerdos*] who is to take into account the confession of the penitent as well as his or her weeping and tears of repentance; he is also to grant reconciliation upon determining that fitting expiation has been made. Should someone fall sick and should that person's last moments arrive, forgiveness is to be granted before the season of the Pasch so that the sick person not leave this world deprived of Communion.

2791 8. Since you desired to consult us regarding this problem, as with the others, my son the deacon Celestine has included in his own letter your question concerning what is written in the letter of the blessed Apostle James: "Should anyone among you be sick, have the presbyters come and pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord; the prayer of faith will save him who suffers, and the Lord will raise him up; and if he has committed sin, it will be forgiven him."[2] This text—and no one can doubt it—must be understood of the faithful who are sick, for these can be anointed with the holy oil of chrism prepared by the bishop. This oil is to be used not only by priests [*sacerdotes*] but by all Christians who can anoint themselves or their families when sickness strikes. It is superfluous to ask whether the bishop can do what is surely allowed to the presbyters. In fact, if the text speaks of presbyters, it is because bishops engaged as they are in other affairs cannot visit all the sick. But if a bishop can do so or if he judges it good that someone be visited by him, without hesitation

h. See M.F. Connell, *Church and Worship*, 41–42.

2. Jas 5:14–15.

he, whose task it is to prepare the oil, can both bless and anoint with it. This oil cannot be given to penitents since it is a type of sacrament. Can anyone believe that something of this kind may be given to those who are refused the other sacraments?

My dear brother, we have done our best to reply to all your requests for explanations so that your church may be able to observe and retain the practice of the Roman church from which it has its origin. As to the other topics, which we cannot take up in writing, when you come to Rome we can discuss them if you so request this. [. . .] 2792

108-A-5. LETTER 30. TO THE SECOND SYNOD OF MILEVIS[†a]

5. Totally foolish is what you say the Pelagians[b] preach, namely, that without the gift of baptism infants can be rewarded with eternal life. Unless they eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink his blood, they will not have life in them.[1] It seems to us that those desiring this for infants who have not yet been reborn wish to have baptism itself rendered useless since they preach that infants possess what is—as we believe—given only through baptism. [. . .] 2793

109. ZOSIMUS, POPE

Of Greek origin, Zosimus became bishop of Rome in 417. His short reign, namely, till 418, is noted for his misadventures regarding ecclesiastical government in Gaul, his response to Pelagianism, and his understanding of church law.

CPL nos. 1644ff. * Altaner (1961) 417 * Altaner (1966) 356 * Bardenhewer (1913) 4:614, 616 * Bautz 14:589–93 * Labriolle (1947) 2:687 * Quasten 4:585–86 * Steidle 146 * Tixeront 276 * CATH 15:1551–52 * CE 15:764–65 * DACL 13.1:1203 * DCB 4:1221–25 * DictSp 16:1651–58 * DPAC 2:3628–29 * DTC 15.2:3708–16 * EC 12:1823–24 * EEC 2:885 * EEChr 2:1189–90 * LTK 10:1492 * NCE 14:1135–36 * NCES 14:935–36 * ODCC 1783 * PEA (1894) 10.1 (n.s.) 841–44

109-A. Letter 9. To Hesychius of Salona[††a]

[. . .] To be observed for the individual grades are the following periods of time. If someone as an infant was enrolled among the ministers of the Church, he should remain a reader till he reaches the age of twenty. If an adult desires to enter divine service, he is to remain five years either 2794

† Translated from PL 20:592.

a. Written on June 27, 417.

b. Followers of a heresy that a person can be saved by that person's merits alone.

1. See John 6:54.

†† Translated from PL 56:572–73.

a. Salona: a port city in Dalmatia, on the Adriatic Sea.

among the readers or among the exorcists. Then he is to spend four years as either an acolyte or a subdeacon, and if worthy he will proceed on to the blessing of the diaconate. He should remain five years in this order if he conducts himself blamelessly. And after that, if he has observed the correct number of years and gone through so many grades, he, having given proof of this, may be considered as deserving of the presbyterate. [. . .]

110. PAULINUS OF NOLA

Born of a noble family (ca. 355) in Bordeaux, Paulinus (*Meropius Pontius Anicius Paulinus*) eventually left home and went to Rome (ca. 375), where he became a member of the senate. Leaving government, he returned to Bordeaux and was baptized (ca. 389/390), and then went to Spain, where he married. He and his wife, Therasia, eventually withdrew from the world, giving away all their possessions. Ordained a priest against his will in Barcelona (393/394), in the spring of 395 Paulinus with his wife took up residence near Nola in southern Italy to be close to the tomb of Saint Felix, for whom Paulinus had a special devotion. Paulinus was created bishop of Nola in 409/410, and he died in 431.

CPL nos. 202ff. * Altaner (1961) 482–83 * Altaner (1966) 409–10 * Bardenhewer (1908) 447–51 * Bardenhewer (1910) 388–90 * Bardenhewer (1913) 3:569–82 * Bardy (1930) 122–25 * Bautz 7:28–34 * Hamell 137 * Labriolle (1947) 2:481–94 * Labriolle (1968) 323–32 * Quasten 4:296–306 * Steidle 258 * Tixeront 250–52 * CATH 10:947–49 * CE 11:585–86 * DACL 12:1422–65 * DCB 4:234–45 * DictSp 12.1:592–602 * DPAC 2:2609–12 * DTC 12.1:68–71 * EC 9:701–3 * EEC 2:660–61 * EEChr 2:886 * LTK 7:1490–91 * NCE 11:28–29 * NCES 11:38–39 * ODCC 1244 * PEA (1894) 18.2:2331–51 * PEA (1991) 9:426–28 * TRE 26:129–33

R.C. Goldschmidt, ed., *Paulinus' Churches at Nola: Texts, Translations and Commentary* (Amsterdam, 1940).

110-A. Letters

Paulinus engaged in a widespread correspondence with many church leaders, for example, Augustine (WEC 3:98), Jerome (WEC 3:145), and Sulpicius Severus. Some fifty letters written by Paulinus have come down to us. Although not highly theological, they impart much information as to the religious life of the people of his time.

110-A-1. LETTER 18. TO VICTRICIUS[†a]

2795 v. I hear that Rouen, which in times past was hardly known in neighboring regions, is now honored even in distant provinces. It is worthy

[†] Translated from *S. Ponti Meropii Paulini Nolani Opera*, vol. 1, ed. G. de Hartel, CSEL 29 (Vienna, 1894) 132.

a. Victricius: bishop of Rouen (d. ca. 410). This letter is dated 403/404.

of divine praise and is included among cities noted for their holy places. [. . .] The apostles have found among you a most suitable refuge. [. . .] In Rouen they together with the angels are day and night comforted by continuous praise of Christ the Lord. [. . .] In Rouen they take great delight in the most pure hearts and voices of your sheep and in the daily unity of those who sing with true understanding[1] in the town's populous churches and more secluded monasteries. [. . .]

110-A-2. LETTER 32. TO SEVERUS†[a]

VII. Through your faith the Lord has fulfilled your heartfelt desire by in- 2796
creasing the splendor and holiness of your buildings, doing so by obtaining the holy relics of the illustrious apostles and martyrs. I know that it was in anticipation of this gift that you constructed a second basilica, one larger than the first, at Primuliacum. I believe that you should also venerate the fragment of the cross that I sent to you and which lies consecrated in the church together with the relics of the saints. To do so is worthy of your life of faith and of the dedication of your faithfully constructed building, a building surely visited by many. It is also fitting for the relics of the saints. Should it please you, the following verses will make known your decision.

The holy altar conceals a divine union.
  Martyrs together with the holy cross are placed here.
The whole martyrdom of Christ the Savior is gathered here,
  The cross, the body, the blood, the martyr, Divinity itself.
God always preserves the divine gifts for you.
  Where Christ is, there the Spirit and the Father are.
Thus where the cross is, so too is the martyr because
  The martyr's cross is the holy reason for the saint's martyrdom.
Where the cross has given us the food of life, it has given a crown
  Whereby his servants share in the Lord.
The flesh that I eat is nailed to the cross.
  His blood, by which I drink life and wash my heart, flows from the cross. [. . .]

VIII. Perhaps you prefer that this blessing from the cross be readily 2797
available for your daily protection and healing. Once the cross is placed within the altar, it is not always available when needed. In such a case it is sufficient for the consecration of the basilica if we entrust the building only to the apostles and the martyrs. If their venerable relics but not the cross are placed under the altar, the following lines will make this known.

1. See Ps 46:7, LXX.

† Translated from CSEL 29:282ff.

a. Sulpicius Severus (ca. 360–ca. 430): a Gallican historian and hagiographer.

The glory of the divine table conceals the
Holy relics of the saints taken from the bodies of the apostles.
The Spirit of the Lord stands by with healing powers,
And teaches that these relics are holy.
So two graces breathe upon our pious prayers,
One from the martyrs here below, the other from the holy things above.
The precious death of the saints, through a small amount of their relics,
Assists the prayers of the priest and benefits the living.

2798 x. [. . .] I have been motivated to link my basilicas with yours, not only because both were constructed simultaneously and by the manner of their dedication but also by my describing both in this letter. [. . .] And so the basilica, already dedicated in the name of Christ our Lord and God to our common defender and master of our household, is frequented as being an addition to his four basilicas. It is venerable not only because of the honor given blessed Felix[b] but because of the holy relics of the apostles and martyrs preserved beneath the altar within the apse with its three recesses. The apse, having a floor and marble walls, is illuminated by a vault decorated with mosaics, whose painting contains the following verses.

The Trinity glows in its full mystery.
Christ is pictured as a lamb; the Father's voice resounds from heaven.
The Holy Spirit flows down in the form of a dove.
The cross is surrounded by a wreath, by a bright circle,
Around which the apostles form a wreath,
Whose image is represented by a choir of doves.
The holy unity of the Trinity meets in Christ,
With the Trinity having its proper symbols.
The Father's voice and the Spirit reveal God.
The cross and the lamb confess the holy victim.
The purple and the palm point to the kingdom and to triumph.
Christ, the Rock of the Church, stands upon a rock.
From this rock flow four bubbling springs,
The evangelists, the living streams of Christ.

2799 xi. On the girdle below [. . .] the following inscription reveals the holy of holies deposited beneath the altar.

Here is reverence, here faith that nurtures, here the glory of Christ.
Here the cross is joined to its witnesses.
For a wooden splinter of the cross is a great pledge.
The whole power of the cross is found in a small fragment.

b. Felix: a martyr buried near Nola.

Holy Melania[c] brought it to Nola as a gift.
It is the greatest good coming from Jerusalem.
The holy altar covers a double honor to God,
Bringing together the relics of the martyrs and the cross
So that those slain for the cross may find rest upon the cross.

XII. The space outside the basilica's apse extends under a high paneled 2800
ceiling. On each side there are double colonnades. Four rooms within each colonnade are located within the basilica's side walls. These rooms are for the benefit of those desiring to pray privately or to meditate on the Lord's law. They also serve as places where the clergy and their associates may obtain eternal rest. Each room is marked by verses, which I will not reproduce in this letter. I have, however, written down the verses that appear over the basilica's entrances because, if you desire to use them, they may be appropriate for the doors of your basilicas. Such would be the following.

Peace to all of you who are entering the house of God,
pure and with peaceful hearts.

Or the following which describes the holy picture of the Lord above the entrance.

Look upon the wreathed cross of Christ the Lord that is located above the narthex.
It promises great rewards for hard labor.
Take up your cross if you wish to carry away the wreath.

In the second basilica the following verses appear over the more private door which one passes through when entering in a private way from the little garden or orchard.

O worshipers of Christ, through pleasant greenery enter the way toward heaven.
It is most fitting to approach from this joyful garden.
From here holy paradise is granted to those who merit it.

The same door is marked with other verses within.

You leave the Lord's house after completing your prayers,
Return in body but remain in heart.

XIII. Contrary to custom, the basilica faces not the east but toward the 2801
basilica of my blessed Lord Felix, namely, toward his tomb. The apse curves its way around with side apses on both the right and the left in the

c. Melania: a Roman matron who visited the Holy Land. She died in Jerusalem ca. 410.

open space. One of these apses can be used by the bishop when offering the sacrifice of joy; the other in a large curve holds the numerous people at prayer behind the priest. The whole area faces the basilica of our venerated confessor, giving joy to one's sight, with three equal arches and with the light shining through the grating connecting the roofs and walkways of each basilica.

Because the intervening wall of the apse of a tomb would separate the old church from the new church, the wall on the side of blessed Felix's church contains as many doors as are at the side of the new church's front entrance. Through the wall one can look into the other church. And so these verses appear at the entrances of the new church.

This loving house lies open to those who enter through the triple arch.
This three-fold door is a witness to their devout faith.

2802 XIV. Likewise on the right and left of this, next to crosses painted red, are these lines.

The cross is enriched with a laurel of flowers.
It is red with the blood shed by our Lord.
The doves sitting above this divine symbol
Show that God's kingdom lies open to the simple.

[And another.]

By means of this cross remove us from the world and the world from us.
Give life to our souls by destroying our sins.
If your peace flourishes in our pure hearts,
You will make us also your favored doves.

2803 XVI. In the two sacristies which, as I said, are on both sides of the apse, the following verses indicate the function of each.

To the right of the apse.

The holy food is kept in this place.
From here the nourishing meal of the holy liturgy is brought forth.

To the left of the apse.

Whoever desires to meditate on the holy law
Can sit here while contemplating the Holy Scriptures.

110-B. Poems

Considered among the most prominent poets of the patristic era, Paulinus did not hesitate to use profane literary forms in the twenty-nine authentic

poems that have come down to us from his pen. Initially he wrote on a variety of secular topics, but after baptism he based his writings solely on religious themes. Among these compositions are the fourteen poems he wrote in honor of Saint Felix (the *carmina natalicia*).

110-B-1. POEM 23[†a]

111. You are aware of the custom whereby we fast prior to the feast- 2804
day, and how late in the evening each person, having consumed the holy things, returns home. So once the gathering in the Lord's temple has concluded and after our bodies have been refreshed by eating, we begin to praise God with hymns and spend the night singing psalms.

110-B-2. POEM 25[††a]

199. May your father, the bishop, bless you. May he with the hymn- 2805
singing choir lead the holy song. Dear Memor,[b] lead your children before the altar and pray over them with your sanctifying hand.

225. Not forgetful of his obligations, Memor, following established prac- 2806
tice, entrusts his dear ones to Aemilius,[c] who joins them together in marriage as he extends his right hand over them while he sanctifies them by a prayer.

110-B-3. POEM 27[†††a]

546. All know that a large number of people gather here to praise holy 2807
Felix. But often enough the crowd is uneducated, certainly not deficient in belief but nonetheless lacking in reading ability. Long have these people been accustomed to serving profane gods, gods of the belly. Now they have been converted to Christ due to the evident works of the saints in Christ. [. . .] See how they spend the whole night in joy, warding off sleep with happiness, warding off darkness with their torches. Would that they turn this happiness into sound prayer and not bring drinking cups into the holy precincts. To be sure, a sober congregation shows greater reverence as it sings holy hymns with pure voices and soberly offers sung praise to the Lord.

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† Translated from *S. Ponti Meropii Paulini Nolani Opera*, vol. 2, ed. G. de Hartel, CSEL 30 (Vienna, 1894) 198.

a. This poem, one of those in honor of Saint Felix, was composed for the saint's feast (January 14) in 401.

†† Translated from CSEL 30:244–45.

a. This poem, a wedding song written between 401 and 404, was occasioned by the marriage of Julian of Eclanum and Titia.

b. Memor: Julian's father.

c. Aemilius: probably the bishop of Benevento in southern Italy.

††† Translated from CSEL 30:286.

a. Written in January 403, this is the ninth poem in honor of Saint Felix.

111. CELESTINE I, POPE

The pontificate of Celestine I (422–32) was one of much activity, not only regarding the restoration/construction of church buildings, but also in opposing the heresies of Pelagianism, the doctrine that a person can be saved only by one's personal merits, and Nestorianism, the doctrine holding that there are two separate persons in Christ. Celestine is especially noted for his efforts toward evangelizing Ireland and for his vigorous affirmation of the authority of the bishop of Rome.

CPL nos. 1650ff. * Altaner (1961) 417 * Altaner (1966) 356–57 * Bardenhewer (1913) 4:614–17 * Jurgens 3:183–84 * Quasten 4:587–89 * Steidle 146 * Tixeront 276 * CATH 1:748–49 * CE 3:477–78 * DACL 2.2:2794–2802, 13.1:1203–14 * DCB 1:584–88 * DHGE 12:56–58 * DPAC 1:638–39 * DTC 2.2:2051–61 * EC 3:1255–56 * EEC 1:154 * EEChr 1:228 * LTK 2:1246 * NCE 3:363–64 * NCES 3:316–18 * ODCC 309

P. Jeffery, "The Introduction of Psalmody into the Roman Mass by Pope Celestine I (422–432): Reinterpreting a Passage in the 'Liber pontificalis,'" ALW 26 (1984) 147–65.

111-A. Letters

Of the twenty-seven letters ascribed to Celestine, sixteen are today judged authentic, most being devoted to combating Nestorianism.

111-A-1. LETTER 4. TO ALL THE BISHOPS IN THE PROVINCES OF VIENNE AND NARBONNE[†]

2808 I.2. We have learned that some of the Lord's priests serve the interests of superstitious worship rather than purity of mind or of belief. It is no surprise that they act contrary to ecclesiastical custom since they were not born in the Church. Coming from other religious customs, they bring with them into the Church what they formerly practiced, wearing a cincture [*lumbus*] and a mantle [*pallium*], they believe they are faithful to the Scriptures. [. . .] However, we are to be distinguished from the people by our teaching, not our clothing; by the way we live, not by the fashion of our dress; by purity of mind, not by bodily adornment. [. . .]

2809 II.3. We have learned that those about to die are refused penance. What they wish for is not granted. At the time of death they desire that their souls be assisted by this remedy. I confess that I am horrified at the godlessness of those who dare doubt God's goodness. It is as if God cannot help all sinners who turn to him, no matter at what moment. It is as if God were not capable of delivering a person staggering under the weight of sin from the burden one seeks to have removed. I ask you, what does this mean unless it is to bring a new death to someone who is about to die, and to kill that person's soul so that it can no longer be purified? God,

[†] Translated from PL 50:430–32.

however, is always disposed to pardon. God calls for penance and says, "Whatever be the day on which sinners convert, their sins will not be remembered against them."[1] And, "I do not desire the death of sinners but only that they convert and live."[2] Whoever refuses penance at the moment of death to anyone desiring it deprives that person of salvation. [. . .] The sincerity of a dying person's conversion should be judged more by the individual's internal dispositions than by the time when this conversion occurs. [. . .]

111-A-2. LETTER 21. TO THE BISHOPS OF GAUL†

XII.13. It is not useless to note that in regard to those to be baptized, the Church throughout the world acts in a uniform manner. Whether it concerns the little ones or the youth, they approach the sacrament of rebirth only after the impure spirit has been banished from them by means of the exorcisms and exsufflations performed by the clergy. [. . .] 2810

111-A-3. LETTER 23. TO THEODOSIUS††a

1. [. . .] Now there is time for prayer in the Lord's houses, and throughout all the churches your authority is commemorated in the sacrifices offered to our God. [. . .] 2811

112. PETER CHRYSOLOGUS

Peter Chrysologus (ca. 380–448/449) was archbishop or metropolitan of Ravenna in northern Italy, a city that at the time was the residence of the Western emperor. Little is known of Peter's life, since there is only a legendary, and thus unreliable, biography written in the ninth century. Noted as a pastoral bishop and an effective preacher, Peter was eventually called "Chrysologus" (in Greek "golden-worded"), seemingly to make him the Western counterpart of John Chrysostom (in Greek "golden-mouthed"). In 1729 Peter was declared a Doctor of the Church.

Other than an extensive corpus of sermons, most of his writings have been lost. The *Rotulus of Ravenna*, a collection of prayer texts probably dating from the second half of the eighth century or somewhat earlier, was once and incorrectly ascribed to Peter.

CPL nos. 227ff. * Altaner (1961) 544–45 * Altaner (1966) 458 * Altaner (1978) 458, 648 * Bardenhewer (1908) 526–27 * Bardenhewer (1910) 454–55 * Bardenhewer (1913) 4:606–10 * Bautz 1:1017–18 * Hamell 127 * Jurgens 3:266–68 * Quasten 4:575–77 * Steidle 160 * Tixeront 278–79 * CATH 11:353–54 * CE 11:762 * DCB 1:517–18 * DictSp

1. See Ezek 33:16. 2. Ezek 18:23.

† Translated from PL 50:536.

†† Translated from PL 50:544.

a. Theodosius II: Roman emperor of the East 408–50.

12.2:1541–46 * DPAC 1:2792–93 * DTC 12.2:1916–18 * EC 9:1433–35 * EEC 2:678 * EEChr 2:906 * LTK 8:118 * NCE 11:214 * NCES 11:184–85 * ODCC 341–42

F. Cabrol, "Autour de la liturgie de Ravenne: s. Pierre Chrysologue et le 'Rotulus,' RB 23 (1906) 489–500. * K. Gamber, "Eine alt-ravennatische Epistel-Liste aus der Zeit des hl. Petrus Chrysologus," LJ 8 (1958) 73–96. * K. Gamber, "Die Orationen des Rotulus von Ravenna: eine Feier des Advents schon zur Zeit des heiligen Petrus Chrysologus," ALW 5 (1958) 354–61. * A. Olivar, "San Piedro Crisologo autor de la Expositio Symboli de Cividale," SE 12 (1961) 294–312. * A. Olivar, *Los sermones de san Pedro Crisólogo de Ravena* (Montserrat, 1962). * A. Olivar, "La duración de la prédicación antigua," *Liturgica* 3 (Montserrat, 1966) 143–84. * R. Ladino, "La iniciación cristiana en san Pedre Crisológo de Ravena," diss. (Rome, 1969). * F. Sottocornola, *L'anno liturgico nei sermoni di Pietro Crisologo*, Studia Ravannatensia 1 (Cesena, 1973). * W.B. Palardy, "The Church and the Synagogue in the Sermons of Saint Peter Chrysologus," diss. (Washington, D.C., 1992). * K. Stevenson, "The Six Homilies on the Lord's Prayer of Peter Chrysologus," in *Studia Liturgica Diversa: Essays in Honor of Paul F. Bradshaw*, ed. M.E. Johnson and L.E. Phillips (Portland, 2004) 65–70.

112-A. Sermons

The sermons of Peter—and 182 of them appear to be authentic—give us a good idea of the liturgical readings during the Church Year in the northern Italian seaport of Ravenna. His preaching, primarily on gospel passages, was short, simple, and direct. Many scholars agree that a high degree of eloquence was not a hallmark of this man who, nonetheless, came to be known as the Golden-Worded.

112-A-1. SERMON 11. ON LENT[†]

2812 IV. [. . .] You see, my brothers and sisters, that our fasting during Lent is not a human invention but comes from divine authority; it is mystical, not of one's own doing; its origin is hidden, not coming from the earth but from the secrets of heaven. [. . .]

112-A-2. SERMON 43. ON PRAYER, FASTING, AND ALMSGIVING[††]

2813 II. My brothers and sisters, it is through three things that faith stands firm, that piety exists, and that virtue remains, namely, prayer, fasting, and mercy. What prayer requests through unrelenting petition, fasting obtains, and mercy accepts. Prayer, mercy, fasting: these three are one; these three invigorate one another. Fasting is the soul of prayer; mercy gives life to fasting. May no one divide these three; they are not to be separated. A person who has only one of them or does not have all three of them together has none of them. And so the person who prays is to fast. Whoever fasts is to show mercy. [. . .]

[†] Translated from *Collectio Sermonum*, ed. A. Olivar, CCL 24 A (Turnhout, 1975) 74.

[††] Translated from CCL 24 A:242, 244.

IV. [. . .] In the morning we arise to face the vicissitudes of the day; we spend the day amidst various trials; we experience changes brought about by the passing of the hours; there is the failure of words and danger in the things we do. Why is it that we do not want to go to church in the morning? Why do we have no desire to request protection for the whole day by means of our morning prayer? Why is it that we joyfully pass the whole day with other people and yet take no pleasure in being with God? [. . .] 2814

112-A-3. SERMON 67†

7. [. . .] As children of heaven we are encouraged by our heavenly Father to request heavenly bread. He said, "I am the bread that has come down from heaven."[1] He is the bread sown in the Virgin, leavened in the flesh, made ready in his passion, baked in the furnace of the sepulcher, placed in the churches, set upon the altars; he is the bread that daily provides nourishment to the faithful. 2815

112-A-4. SERMON 117. ON BAD SEED (MATT 13:24)††

IV. [. . .] So it is, my brothers and sisters, that the heavenly Spirit, by the secret mixture of its power, makes fruitful[a] the stainless womb of the font in order that those upon earth, whose miserable condition comes from their muddy roots, may be brought forth as if from heaven and thus are led to the likeness of their Creator. Therefore, may we, who are already reborn and again molded into the image of our Creator, carry out what the apostle has enjoined. 2816

112-A-5. SERMON 166. ON FASTING†††

II. Consider the Lenten fast which the whole Church begins tomorrow with solemn piety. Many believe that this fast has been passed down to us or that the Lord observed it only for the purpose of restraint, failing to understand that it contains a mystery of higher meaning. It exists not merely for punishing the body, for removing vices, for putting a rein on our feelings. Furthermore, from antiquity the number "forty" is considered sacred; it is so mystical that by virtue of some invisible law it is written as a number that effects divine things. In order that this may be totally clear, allow me to present a number of examples. 2817

III. [. . .] For forty days and nights rain poured down from heaven to cleanse the earth.[1] This took place so that the world—a creature on the 2818

† Translated from *Collectio Sermonum*, vol. 2, ed. A. Olivar, CCL 24 B (Turnhout, 1982) 404–5.

1. John 6:51.

†† Translated from CCL 24 B:711.

a. "By the secret . . . fruitful" is a quote from the ancient Roman prayer for the blessing of the water during the Paschal Vigil.

††† Translated from CCL 24 B:1019–24.

1. See Gen 7:1–24.

very verge of perishing—might rejoice that it was reborn by such a baptism; that the world might understand that its existence is due not to nature but to the gift of its Creator; that the earth from which our bodies take their origin might taste beforehand the very form of our baptism; and finally that the earth, which previously brought forth men and women unto death, now leads them reborn unto life.

2819 IV. Listen carefully, my brothers and sisters, as to the importance of the number "forty." In times past this number opened up the heavens for the cleansing of the earth; now through the font of baptism it allows all the people of the world to be renewed. Rightly do we fast throughout the forty days so that we might arrive at the saving font of baptism. [. . .]

2820 VI. And since we should not omit anything, Moses himself was cleansed and freed from his body by a fast of forty days.[2] [. . .]

2821 VII. A fast brought Elijah up to heaven. [. . .] So that this could happen, Elijah first ran the mystical course of the number "forty."[3] [. . .]

2822 IX. If, therefore, the Lord through such important testimonies has taught us a simple, pure, and unvarying fast of forty days and has handed it down to us under the number of so great a symbol, then why such variety, why such novelty? How does it happen that some weeks are observed in a relaxed manner whereas others are strictly observed, in some cases the fast being lenient and in others severe? [. . .] May the fast be properly apportioned and, as tradition requires of us, may we observe it for the discipline of body and soul. Those unable to fast should not presume to initiate something new but ought to admit that it is due to personal weakness that they relax the fast. May their almsgiving compensate for their failure to fast. [. . .]

113. LEO I, POPE

Little is known of the personal life of Leo I (Leo the Great). Some suggest he was born in Rome, where he eventually became an influential archdeacon. Ordained bishop of that city on September 29, 440, Leo held office at a time when the western part of the empire was under attack from the north. He did not hesitate to involve himself in political affairs as, for example, when meeting Attila the Hun at Mantua in 452, Leo persuaded him to spare Rome and withdraw beyond the Danube (it is disputed whether episcopal eloquence or simple bribery brought this about). In 455 he influenced the Vandals led by Geiserich not to engage in torture, murder, and destruction by fire during their sack of Rome.

As pastor Leo promoted unity in Christian belief and practice, orthodox doctrine in the face of heresy and schism, church discipline (e.g., the practical requirements imposed on those ordained to the presbyterate), and the primacy of the Roman church over other churches. Leo's thought, which

2. See Exod 24:18. 3. See 1 Kgs 19:5–8; 2 Kgs 2:1, 11.

has come down to us through his letters and sermons, is clear and simple, although neither original nor profound.

The so-called *Leonine Sacramentary* or, as it is called today, the *Sacramentarium Veronense* (actually a private collection of liturgical texts) was once and erroneously ascribed to Leo, although there is at times similarity of wording between that found in some of Leo's sermons and that found in some texts of the *Veronense*.

Leo died in 461; in 1754 he was named a Doctor of the Church by Pope Benedict XIV. Only two popes are traditionally called "Great," one being Gregory I (WEC 4:165) and the other Leo I.

CPL 1656ff. * Altaner (1961) 417–22 * Altaner (1966) 357–60 * Bardenhewer (1908) 522–26 * Bardenhewer (1910) 451–54 * Bardenhewer (1913) 4:617–23 * Bardy (1930) 166–68 * Bautz 4:1425–35 * Hamell 159–60 * Jurgens 3:268–81 * Labriolle (1947) 2:688–90 * Labriolle (1968) 442–43 * Quasten 4:589–612 * Steidle 147–48 * Tixeront 276–78 * CATH 7:312–17 * CE 9:154–57 * DACL 8.2:2532–38 * DCB 3:652–73 * DictSp 9:597–611 * DPAC 2:1922–25 * DTC 9.1:218–301 * EC 7:1139–44 * EEC 1:479 * EEChr 2:674–76 * LTK 6:820–22 * NCE 8:637–39 * NCES 8:474–78 * ODCC 966–67 * PEA (1894) 12.2:1962–73 * PEA (1991) 7:47–48 * TRE 20:737–41

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113-A. Letters

The corpus of Leo's letters contains 173 pieces, 143 attributed to Leo himself (although some might be spurious) and 30 addressed by various individuals to the pope. Produced by his chancery, Leo's letters provide valuable information on both dogma and discipline. A critical edition of these informative documents is awaited.

113-A-1. LETTER 4. TO THE BISHOPS PRESIDING IN CAMPANIA, PICENUM, ETRURIA,[a] AND ALL THE PROVINCES[†b]

1. Slaves are not to be ordained. In some places men who have not been approved, whether in terms of dignity of birth or personal conduct, are admitted to holy orders. There are also some, not obtaining freedom from their masters, who are raised to the dignity of the priesthood as if the low 2823

† Translated from PL 54:611–12.

a. Ecclesiastical provinces near Rome.

b. Written on October 10, 443.

estate of a slave might assume this honor; it is believed that a person can be approved by God even though he was not yet able to prove himself to his master. And so the charge here is twofold: the holy ministry is defiled by the humble condition of those sharing in it; and the rights of the master are violated. [. . .]

2824 II. Once each man's respectability as to birth and conduct has been ascertained, then the teaching of the apostle[1] informs us as to the type of person that is to be associated with the ministry of the holy altar; we also learn from the divine precepts[2] and from the rules of the canons. These have been ignored and thoroughly disregarded by many of the brethren. Everyone knows that the husbands of widows have been ordained as well as those who have been married several times; in some places those who led a completely dissolute life were allowed to be ordained without any hindrance, all this being contrary to what the apostle forcefully says in this regard, be "the husband of only one wife"[3] and contrary to the precept of the old law which warns, "The priest will marry a virgin, not a widow or one who has been divorced."[4] By the authority of the Apostolic See we command that all these be deposed from ecclesiastical office and be deprived of the title of the priesthood. [. . .]

113-A-2. LETTER 6. LEO TO HIS BELOVED BROTHER ANASTASIUS, ARCHBISHOP OF THESSALONICA[†a]

2825 III. [. . .] Throughout the provinces entrusted to you, only such priests may be ordained who are recommended by their life and clerical rank. Pay no attention to personal favor, to campaigning, to purchased votes. Let those to be ordained be more diligently investigated; may they throughout a long period of time be trained in the discipline of the Church. If, however, all that is required by the fathers is found in them and if they have carried out all that the holy apostle Paul has enjoined on them, namely, that a man be married only once, and that his wife was a virgin when they married as the authority of the divine law warns, [then proceed to ordain them]. What we greatly desire—so that there can be no excuses—is that no one believe he can obtain the priesthood who has married before having obtained Christ's grace or who, upon his wife's death, has married another after being baptized. The previous wife cannot be ignored nor can the former marriage be done away with; he is the father of those children whom he conceived by that wife before baptism as he is of those whom he is known to have begotten by the second wife after baptism. For just as what is sinful or what is known to be unlawful is removed through the bath of baptism, so what is lawful or licit is not removed by baptism.

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1. See 1 Tim 3:2; Titus 1:6. 2. See Lev 21:14. 3. 1 Tim 3:2. 4. Lev 21:14.

† Translated from PL 54:618, 620.

a. Written on January 12, 444.

VI. [. . .] We indeed know—and we cannot pass over this in silence— 2826
that some of the brethren ordain only bishops on Sundays. Yet presbyters and deacons, whose consecration should be equal, in some places receive the dignity of the priestly office on any day whatsoever. This practice, and it is one that should be corrected, is contrary to the canons as well as to the tradition of our elders, a tradition that all who have received it must follow exactly in regard to all the holy orders; after a protracted period of time the candidate for the priesthood or the diaconate is to be advanced through all the steps of the clerical office. [. . .]

113-A-3. LETTER 9. TO DIOSCORUS, BISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA[†a]

I. We desire that you observe what we know was more carefully ob- 2827
served by our fathers, namely, that priestly and diaconal ordinations not take place on just any day whatsoever. They are to be held after Saturday, namely, during the night that precedes the dawn of the first day of the week. At this time both those conferring and those receiving the holy blessing are to be fasting. This prescription is also observed if the ordination is celebrated early Sunday morning, yet without breaking Saturday's fast since the beginning of the previous night surely belongs to the day of the resurrection as is also evident in regard to Easter. In addition to the authority of custom, which we know derives from the teaching of the apostles, there is Sacred Scripture which also makes this clear since when the apostles, under the command of the Holy Spirit, sent Paul and Barnabas to preach the Gospel to the Gentiles, they laid hands upon them while fasting.[1] This was done so that we might know with what devotion both givers and receivers must take care to show so that the sacrament of such great blessing might not seem to be carelessly bestowed. Therefore you devoutly and laudably follow the custom of the apostles if you yourselves also follow this manner of ordaining priests throughout the churches over which, as the Lord desired, you preside: so that those to be consecrated only receive the blessing on the day of the Lord's resurrection which begins, as all agree, on Saturday evening. [. . .]

II. Again that our practices may completely agree, we desire that when 2828
a more solemn feast brings together a larger number of people and when the size of the crowd does not allow the people to fit into the church at one and the same time, surely the offering of the sacrifice may be repeated; if only those arriving first were allowed in for the service, then it would appear that those coming later are rejected since both piety and reason would say that the sacrifice should be offered as often as the church in which it takes place is filled by a new group of people. If the custom of only one Mass [*missa*] is observed and if only those who gather early in

† Translated from PL 54:625–27.

a. Written on June 21, 445.

1. See Acts 13.

the day can offer the sacrifice, then a certain segment of the people are necessarily deprived of their devotion. [. . .]

113-A-4. LETTER 10. TO THE BISHOPS OF THE PROVINCE OF VIENNE; CONCERNING HILARY, BISHOP OF ARLES[†a]

2829 VI. [. . .] Those to be ordained priests are to be examined in tranquility and peace. May the endorsement of the clergy, the testimony of those held in honor, and the consent of both the laity and those in orders be insisted on. Whoever is to be in charge of all is to be selected by all. [. . .] The ordination should not take place on any day whatsoever but on the appointed day; whoever has not been ordained on the Saturday evening before Sunday's dawn or has not been ordained on Sunday itself cannot be certain of his status. Our fathers determined that Sunday alone was worthy of the honor of being the day when those to be made priests are especially given to God.

113-A-5. LETTER 16. TO ALL THE BISHOPS OF SICILY[††a]

2830 I. Baptism is to be celebrated at Easter, not on Epiphany. So when I heard on trustworthy testimony—I already was experiencing a fraternal and loving concern, my brothers, about what you were doing—that in regard to one of the Church's primary sacraments you were departing from what the apostles determined, namely, that you were celebrating the sacrament of baptism for larger numbers of people on Epiphany rather than at Easter, it surprised me that you or your predecessors could have introduced such an unreasonable innovation. Doing so confuses the mysteries of the two feasts and presumes that no difference exists between the day when Christ was adored by the Magi and the day of his resurrection from the dead. Never would you have erred in this way if you had based all your observances on the source of your consecration to the episcopate. [. . .]

2831 III. [. . .] In the celebration of baptism death occurs through the slaying of sins; the threefold immersion imitates the three-day stay in the tomb; the coming up out of the water is like him who rose from the tomb. The very nature of what is done teaches us that Easter is the accepted day for the general reception of grace. [. . .] We must add that the solemn season of Pentecost, made holy by the descent of the Holy Spirit, is also allowed, for this day follows and completes the paschal feast. Although other feasts are celebrated on other days of the week, Pentecost always occurs on the day characterized by the Lord's resurrection, extending, as it were, the hand of assisting grace and inviting those whom serious illness or lengthy travel or hardships at sea separated from the paschal feast. [. . .]

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† Translated from PL 54:634.

a. Written in July 445.

†† Translated from PL 54:696, 698–701.

a. Written on October 21, 447.

v. [. . .] Obviously the two seasons we have mentioned are the proper 2832
ones for baptizing the elect in the Church. Consequently, my brothers, we exhort you not to add other times of the year. [. . .] Although we delay the [baptismal] vows of those who are not afflicted with serious sickness [. . .], at no time do we refuse baptism, which is the only safeguard of true salvation, for any person who is at the point of death, who is under siege, who is afflicted with persecution, or who suffers the terrors of shipwreck.

113-A-6. LETTER 59. TO THE PEOPLE AND CLERGY OF CONSTANTINOPLE[†a]

II. May the holy members of Christ's Body reject such people [those deny- 2833
ing that Christ is truly man]. May Catholic liberty not bear that the yoke of the unfaithful be laid upon it. Those who deny that Christ took upon himself our human nature are to be considered as outside the gift of divine grace and outside the sacrament of our salvation. They contradict the Gospel and resist the creed. [. . .] Not even the tongues of infants remain silent regarding the truth of the Body and Blood of Christ in the sacrament of Communion. [. . .]

113-A-7. LETTER 80. TO ANATOLUS, BISHOP OF CONSTANTINOPLE[††a]

III. As to reading aloud the names of Dioscorus, Juvenal, and Eustathius 2834
at the holy altar [. . .], it is very wrong that the names of those who persecuted innocent Catholics have their names indiscriminately mixed with those of the holy ones. [. . .]

113-A-8. LETTER 88. TO PASCHASINUS, BISHOP OF LILYBAEUM[†††ab]

IV. Furthermore, we believe that you must also concern yourself with 2835
this. Make more diligent inquiries there where you are certain as to the computation of the paschal feast, concerning which we find in the table of years by Theophilus,[c] something that bothers us; study carefully with those who are knowledgeable about these calculations as to when the day of the Lord's resurrection will be celebrated four years hence. By God's grace the next Easter will be celebrated on 23 March; the following year on 12 April; and the subsequent year on 4 April. In the year 455 the date, according to Theophilus, is 24 April. We find this date to be totally foreign to the practice of the Church. As you know so well, according to our paschal cycle, it is written that Easter will occur that year on 17 April. Therefore, so there be no ambiguity whatsoever among us, diligently study this

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† Translated from PL 54:868.

a. Written on December 25, 449.

†† Translated from PL 54:914–15.

a. Written on April 13, 451.

††† Translated from PL 54:929.

a. Written on June 24, 451.

b. Lilybaeum: located in Sicily.

c. Theophilus: patriarch of Alexandria 385–412.

question with the experts in order that in the future we may guard against any error of this kind. [. . .]

113-A-9. LETTER 108. TO THEODORE, BISHOP OF FORUM JULII[tab]

2836 II. God's abundant mercy assists those of us who have fallen so that not only through the grace of baptism but also through the medicine of penance is the hope of eternal life restored. In this way those who have violated the gifts of rebirth, condemning themselves by their own judgment, attain the forgiveness of sins. The help of divine grace has been so determined that God's forgiveness can be obtained only through the supplication of the priests. For the man Jesus Christ, being the mediator between God and us, has handed over this power to those in charge of the Church so that they might grant the process of penance to those who confess, and once they have been cleansed by salutary satisfaction they may be admitted to sacramental Communion through the gate of penance. The Savior himself always plays a part here. He is never absent from what he has committed to his minister when he said, "Behold, I am always with you to the very end of the world."[1] And so we do not doubt that what through our service is accomplished in good order and with satisfactory results has been granted through the Holy Spirit.

2837 III. If, however, some of those for whom we petition the Lord should encounter an obstacle and fall away from what is required for present forgiveness, and before they obtain the appointed remedies and end their natural lives upon earth, then they, no longer in the flesh, will be unable to receive what they did not obtain when they were still alive. We need not discuss the merits and actions of those who died in this way since the Lord our God, whose judgments are beyond our understanding, has reserved to himself what the priestly ministry was unable to bring about. [. . .] It is very useful, yes even necessary, that those guilty of sin be freed through the prayer of the priest before the last day of the sinner's life.

2838 V. It is fitting that Christians judge their individual consciences so that they do not day after day postpone turning to God, that they do not look to the end of life as the time for satisfaction. In light of human weakness and ignorance it is dangerous for anyone to rely upon just a few hours, concerning which there is no guarantee; and rather than obtaining forgiveness by a more complete satisfaction, one chooses the narrow limits of that time during which there is hardly any opportunity for either the confession of the penitent or the reconciliation conferred by the priest. Truly, as I have said, such people are to be assisted so that neither the act of penance nor the grace of Communion be denied them when, even though unable

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[†] Translated from PL 54:1011–13.

a. Forum Julii: modern Fréjus, a port town in southern France.

b. Written on June 11, 452.

1. Matt 28:20.

to speak, they request it by signs indicating that they clearly understand. But if their sickness is such that they are unable to indicate in the presence of a priest what they just a little awhile ago were requesting, the testimony of the faithful standing nearby is to avail them so that they might obtain the benefit of both penance and reconciliation. Nonetheless, to be observed are the rules of the canons of the fathers concerning those who have sinned against God by forsaking the faith.

113-A-10. LETTER 119. TO MAXIMUS, BISHOP OF ANTIOCH[†a]

VI. My dear brother, you should take care that no person other than 2839
a priest of the Lord dare assume the right to teach or preach, whether this individual be a monk or a lay person claiming to be knowledgeable. Although all the Church's children are to understand what is right and sound, nonetheless, it is not permitted that a person who has not been ordained a priest assume to himself the office of preaching since in God's Church it is fitting that all things be orderly so that in the one Body of Christ both the more preeminent members may fill their office and those lower in rank may not oppose those who are higher. [. . .]

113-A-11. LETTER 127. TO BISHOP JULIAN[††ab]

II. We can entertain no doubt concerning [the date] of Easter during the 2840
present year. However, we have inquired regarding [its date] in the year ahead [in 454]. According to Theophilus, Bishop of Alexandria, it will be celebrated on 24 April, a day never observed as such since the time of the Lord's resurrection. Consequently it was appropriate that the matter be more closely investigated so that all opportunity for error be avoided. According to our annals the day clearly appointed and celebrated by our fathers is 17 April. So as to avoid division among us and among those in the East in this regard, I request that you, my dear brother, deign to act more urgently with the most Christian emperor, doing so in our name, even though this most merciful emperor has in his letter deigned to advise us that he has given those in Egypt the task of most carefully inquiring into this.

113-A-12. LETTER 131. TO BISHOP JULIAN[†††ab]

II. As to the approaching Easter, as I have already and often written, be 2841
solicitous and on my behalf inform, as the occasion warrants, the most

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† Translated from PL 54:45–46.

a. Written on July 11, 453.

†† Translated from PL 54:1072.

a. Written on January 9, 454.

b. Julian of Cos: Leo's representative at the imperial court.

††† Translated from PL 54:1082.

a. Written on January 9, 454.

b. For Julian of Cos; see above (113-A-11, note b).

merciful emperor that he should inform me as to the reply he received—the days are quickly approaching—so that we might know what day we should inscribe on our calendar, and so that the mistrust of all in this matter be more clearly removed. [. . .]

113-A-13. LETTER 138. TO THE CATHOLIC BISHOPS OF GAUL AND SPAIN[†a]

2842 Since it is fitting that bishops act uniformly in observing the prescribed rules, we must take special care that, whether through ignorance or obstinacy, there be no failing by choosing different dates on which to celebrate the paschal feast. Because the season for the most holy solemnity has certain boundaries so that the salutary sacrament can at times be appropriately celebrated earlier and at times later, the solicitude of the Apostolic See does not cease to take care that the Church's piety not be disturbed by any uncertainty. Some writings of the fathers say that the next celebration of the Pasch will occur on 17 April, others say on 24 April. This diversity persuaded me to disclose my concern in this affair to Marcian, the most merciful emperor, so that, at his command, those in his area who are adept at computation might make an inquiry as to the day on which this venerable solemnity is to be more correctly celebrated. He replied that 24 April was the day that was decided. So for the sake of unity and peace I have decided to go along with what was determined in the East rather than to be at variance regarding the observance of so great a feast. Consequently you should be well aware that all should celebrate the Lord's resurrection on 24 April. You are to make your brothers familiar with this, for just as one faith binds us together, so we may celebrate with one feast. [. . .]

113-A-14. LETTER 159. TO NICAETUS, BISHOP OF AQUILEIA[††a]

2843 Upon his return our son Adeodatus, a deacon of our See, notified us of your request, my dear brother, that from us you receive the authority of the Apostolic See concerning some matters that seem very difficult to decide. [. . .]

2844 VI. As to those, concerning whom you also thought we should be consulted, namely, those compelled by fear or who in error repeated their baptism and are now aware that they acted against the discipline of the Catholic faith, moderation is to be observed; only through the remedy of penance and the imposition of the bishop's hand are they to be received back into the unity of being in communion with us; the length of the penance depends on your judgment, moderation being observed and depending on what you see to be the disposition of the penitents. In this respect

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† Translated from PL 54:1101–2.

a. Written on July 28, 454.

†† Translated from PL 54:1136, 1138–39.

a. Written on March 21, 458.

you must be attentive to old age, sickness, and other perils. If a penitent's life is in extreme danger, then through the priest's loving care it is fitting that they be assisted by the grace of Communion.

VII. Those who were baptized by heretics and were not previously bap- 2845
tized are to be confirmed by the invocation of the Holy Spirit through the imposition of hands because they have received only the form of baptism, not the strength of its power. As you know, we instruct that this rule be observed in all the churches so that the font, once having been entered, may not be violated by repetition. As the apostle says, "There is one Lord, one faith, one baptism."[1] The washing is not to be dishonored by repeating it but, as we said, only the sanctification of the Holy Spirit is invoked so that what cannot be received from heretics is received from Catholic priests. [. . .]

113-A-15. LETTER 166. TO NEO, BISHOP OF RAVENNA[†a]

I. [. . .] We certainly know that an unpardonable outrage has taken 2846
place whenever in accord with the practice of the heretics—a practice condemned by the fathers—a person is forced to enter the font twice, a font that is available only once to those who are to be born anew. This is contrary to the teaching of the apostle, which tells us that in the Trinity there is one God, one confession of faith, one mystery of baptism.[1] [. . .]

II. If it is found that someone was baptized by heretics, then the sacra- 2847
ment of rebirth is in no way to be repeated; only what was lacking is to be given so that through the episcopal imposition of the hand the power of the Holy Spirit is obtained. [. . .]

113-A-16. LETTER 167. TO RUSTICUS, BISHOP OF NARBONNE[††a]

Question 1. The presbyter or deacon who lies, saying that he is a bishop, 2848
and those whom he ordains.

Reply. For no reason are any considered to be bishops unless they have been elected by the clergy, desired by the people, and consecrated by the bishops of the province with the approbation of the metropolitan. [. . .] If any clerics have been ordained by false bishops in churches having their own bishops and if they were ordained with the consent and approval of their own bishop, the ordination can be considered valid on condition they continue on in their churches. If not, the ordination is considered invalid, being neither linked to a place nor based on any authority.

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1. Eph 4:5.

† Translated from PL 54:1193–94.

a. Written on October 24, 458.

1. See Eph 4:5.

†† Translated from PL 54:1203–9.

a. Written ca. 458/459.

2849 Question 2. The presbyter or deacon who, when his crime is known, requests public penance. Should it be granted him through the imposition of the hand?

Reply. It is foreign to the Church's tradition that those who have been elevated to the honor of the presbyterate or to the rank of deacon should, for any crime they have committed, be admitted to the remedy of penance through the imposition of the hand. Surely this refusal accords with apostolic tradition, for it is written, "If a priest shall sin, who will pray for him?"[1] And so for sinners of this type to obtain God's mercy, withdrawal to a private place is desirable where their atonement, if fitting, may also be fruitful.

2850 Question 3. Those who minister at the altar and are married. May they lawfully cohabit with their wives?

Reply. The law of continence is the same for ministers at the altar as it is for bishops and presbyters who when they were laymen or readers could lawfully marry and beget children. But having attained these ranks, then what was formerly lawful is no longer permitted. So that their marriage might be spiritual rather than carnal, they are not to put away their wives but rather have them as if they did not have them;[2] by so doing they retain the love of their wives while marital relations cease.

2851 Question 7. The sick who agree to do penance and, once they recover, refuse to do so.

Reply. The failure of these is blameworthy, but they are not to be completely abandoned as hopeless. By numerous exhortations they should be urged to carry out faithfully what under necessity they requested. We should not despair of anyone who is still alive since what at times is postponed through the diffidence of youth is accomplished by a more mature judgment.

2852 Question 8. Concerning those who on the point of death consent to penance and die before being admitted into communion.

Reply. Their case is reserved to the judgment of God who was responsible that the death of these be delayed till the remedy of communion. We are unable to be in communion with the dead with whom we were not in communion when they were still alive.

2853 Question 9. Those who request penance when afflicted with great pain, and when the presbyter comes to give them what they requested, and now that only a little pain remains, they make excuses, saying they do not want to receive what is offered.

Reply. This dissimulation cannot derive from any contempt of the remedy but from a fear of subsequently sinning more grievously. Therefore a

1. See Lev 5. 2. See 1 Cor 7:29.

penance that is postponed so that it may be more zealously sought may not be denied so that the wounded soul may in one way or another attain the medicine of forgiveness.

Question 10. Those who promise to do penance and begin to have recourse to the law in the forum. 2854

Reply. [. . .] If a penitent has a case which perhaps should not be neglected, it is better to appeal to the judgment of the Church rather than to that of the forum.

Question 11. Those who engage in business while doing or after doing penance. 2855

Reply. The nature of what is gained either pardons or condemns those who engage in business since some profits are honest, others are sordid. Indeed it is more profitable for a penitent to suffer a loss than to be involved in the dangers connected with doing business because it is difficult for sin to be absent from dealings between those who sell and those who buy.

Question 12. Those who return to the military after doing penance. 2856

Reply. It is completely contrary to the rules of the Church to return to military service after doing penance since the apostle says, "A soldier" of God "does not involve himself in affairs of the world."[3] Consequently, those who involve themselves in military service are not free from the devil's snares.

Question 13. Those who after penance marry or take on concubines. 2857

Reply. If a young man, under fear of death or captivity, has done penance and afterwards, fearing that he will succumb to youthful incontinence, chooses to marry in order to avoid committing the serious sin of fornication, he appears to have done something that is less serious provided he has known no woman except his wife. We are establishing no rule here, but something we believe to be more tolerable. For according to a true understanding, nothing is more fitting for one who has done penance than continuing in chastity of both mind and body.

Question 16. Those who have been abandoned by Christian parents, and whether they are to be baptized if it cannot be determined that they have already been so. 2858

Reply. If there is no proof on the part of relatives or family members, clergy or neighbors, that those who are the object of the inquiry were indeed baptized, proceed to have them reborn so that they will not certainly perish: we cannot repeat what is not shown to have been done.

Question 17. Those who as children were taken captive and have no knowledge of being baptized but know that at times they accompanied 2859

3. 2 Tim 2:4.

their parents to church: can or should these be baptized upon their return to Roman territory?

Reply. Those capable of remembering that they went to church with their parents can recall whether they received what was given to their parents. But if they cannot remember, then it seems that they should receive what is not known to have been given them since there can be no rash presumption where there is the most observant carefulness.

2860 Question 18. Those who come from Africa or Mauretania and do not know the religious group into which they were baptized. What should be done in regard to these?

Reply. These are not ignorant of the fact of their baptism but do not know the faith professed by those who baptized them. Therefore since in one way or another they received the form of baptism, they are not to be baptized, but they become Catholics through the imposition of the hand and through the invocation of the power of the Holy Spirit—something they were unable to obtain from heretics.

2861 Question 19. Those baptized as infants, taken captive by the pagans, and living with them as pagans. What is to be done when as young people they return to Roman territory and request Communion?

Reply. If they only lived among the pagans and ate foods offered to the idols, they can be cleansed by fasting and the imposition of the hand so that henceforth abstaining from idolatry, they may share in the sacraments of Christ. But if they adored idols or were polluted by committing murder or fornication, it is not fitting that they be admitted to Communion without having done public penance.

113-A-17. LETTER 168. TO THE BISHOPS THROUGHOUT CAMPANIA, SAMNIUM, AND PICENUM[†ab]

2862 1. I am greatly annoyed and deeply saddened that some of you are forgetful of apostolic tradition and are intent upon their own error. They claim the right to baptize not only at Easter and on Pentecost, which is akin to the former, but also on the anniversaries of the martyrs. They celebrate the mysteries of rebirth not because someone is seriously ill but because of their unrestrained license. The deaths of the martyrs are to be honored differently than the Lord's passion. Without any previous spiritual instruction or preparation they give the sacrament to the ignorant and unlearned in such a way that church doctrine is not imparted; there is no imposition of the hand; there is no fasting through which the old self is destroyed. In regard to such a great mystery of human salvation

[†] Translated from PL 54:1209–11.

a. Campania, Samnium, and Picenum: ecclesiastical provinces near Rome.

b. Written on March 6, 459.

there is to be no exception as to the day on which the gift of rebirth takes place. Therefore we warn and publicly testify that those who act in this way do so not without danger to their state. This presumptuous manner of acting is to cease. You are to confer this highest and most powerful gift of God only at Easter and at Pentecost to those who believe and desire it. The only exception is when there exists a grave necessity or a danger that requires assistance; may our human infirmity, intensified by our mortal condition, not be deprived of its necessary release. As we said above, we are to observe only the two feasts, and yet care is to be taken that because of many dangers no priest is to refuse the sacrament of rebirth to those who are very seriously ill, who are under attack by the enemy, or in fear of shipwreck. If after this prohibition anyone is discovered continuing to act in this way, he is to be punished for his obstinacy since he shows himself to be pursuing evil gain rather than the things of religion.

11. [. . .] As to penance, what is requested of the faithful is not that the 2863
type of sin be written down in a book and proclaimed in public since it suffices that by a secret confession one's guilty conscience is indicated to priests alone. For even though the fullness of faith may seem to be praiseworthy, which due to fear of God is not afraid to blush before others, yet not all sins are of such a kind that penitents might fear making them public. Therefore this unapproved practice must cease lest many be prevented from the remedies of penance due to shame or fear that what they have done may be disclosed to their enemies who might harm them by the provisions of the law. Sufficient is the confession which is first offered to God and then also to the priest whose task is to pray on account of the sins of the penitents. Only in this way will many be moved to seek penance when the conscience of the one confessing is not made public to the ears of the people. [. . .]

113-B. Sermons

Ninety-six of Leo's sermons, most preached early in his pontificate, are extant and form one of the earliest collections of papal sermons that have come down to us. Divided according to various feasts, seasons, and special occurrences during the year, they are brief, simple, and direct. At an early date they were gathered into collections for liturgical and canonical use.

113-B-1. SERMON 6. SERMON 1 ON THE COLLECTIONS[†a]

In many ways the holy Scriptures tell us how great is the merit of alms- 2864
giving and how powerful is its efficacy.

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† Translated from *Sermons. Léon le Grand*, vol. 2, ed. J. Leclercq and R. Dolle, SChr 49 bis (Paris, 1969) 28–31.

a. Sermon given in November 440.

2865 Next Sunday there will be a collection. I exhort and advise you in your holiness that you remember both the poor and yourselves. To the extent of your resources, recognize Christ in the poor; Christ so recommended the poor to us that it is he whom we clothe, support, and feed in them. [. . .]

113-B-2. SERMON 12. SERMON 1 ON THE FAST OF DECEMBER[†a]

2866 IV. In a very special way the practice of religion includes prayer, fasting, and almsgiving. To be sure, it is good to engage in these practices at all times, but they are to be more zealously carried out during this season which we have received from the apostles. December returns to us this ancient custom whereby we might more carefully practice the three works I have just mentioned. Through prayer we seek God's mercy; through fasting the lust of the flesh is extinguished; through almsgiving sins are redeemed.[1] At the same time through all of them God's image in us is renewed if we are always ready to praise him, if we are constantly attentive to our purification, and if we are always ready to come to the aid of our neighbor. This threefold observance, my brothers and sisters, encloses within it all the fruits of the virtues. Through it we arrive at the image and likeness of God.[2] It inseparably joins us to the Holy Spirit. In prayer is maintained true faith; in fasting, innocent life; in almsgiving, goodness of soul.

2867 We will fast, then, on Wednesday and Friday; on Saturday we will keep vigil with the most holy apostle Peter who by his prayers will graciously aid our prayers, our faith, and our almsgiving. [. . .]

113-B-3. SERMON 13. SERMON 2 ON THE FAST OF DECEMBER[††a]

2868 Since our souls are not saved by fasting alone, may we complete our fast by extending mercy to the poor. May we spend on virtue what we withdraw from pleasure. May the abstinence of the person who fasts be the meal of the person who is poor. [. . .]

113-B-4. SERMON 16. SERMON 5 ON THE FAST OF DECEMBER[†††a]

2869 II. My sisters and brothers, although fasting is fitting for all seasons, the present time is especially so. Inspired by God, our holy fathers instituted the December fast. It was their desire that, once all the earth's fruits had been harvested, a reasonable fast should be consecrated to God and that each person might remember to use the abundance in such a way as to

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† Translated from *Sermons. Léon le Grand*, vol. 4, ed. J. Leclercq and R. Dolle, SChr 200 (Paris, 1973) 158–61.

a. Sermon given on December 17, 340.

1. See Sir 3:33, LXX; Dan 4:24. 2. See Gen 1:26.

†† Translated from SChr 200:158–61.

a. Sermon given on December 15, 440.

††† Translated from SChr 200:176–79.

a. Sermon given on December 12, 443.

show more restraint as well as more liberality toward the poor. Prayer for sins is, in fact, most efficacious when it is accompanied by almsgiving and fasting; and prayer upheld by these ascends more quickly to God since it is written, "The merciful do good for themselves,"[1] and nothing belongs more to anyone than what is expended for one's neighbor. Whatever part of a person's material goods serves the needy is transformed into eternal riches, and from such liberality are born riches that are not diminished by their use, riches no corrûption can endanger. "Blessed are the merciful, for God will show mercy to them."[2] And he who is the model of his own command will be their highest reward.[3]

113-B-5. SERMON 18. SERMON 7 ON THE FAST OF DECEMBER†a

II. [. . .] My brothers and sisters, through the providence of God's 2870
grace are added the holy fasts which on certain days require that they be observed with devotion by the whole Church. If, in fact, it is noble and praiseworthy that each individual member of Christ's Body be adorned with the accomplishment of personal obligations, it is more noble and holy when the hearts of a people devoted to God come together for a common purpose; and so he [the devil] for whom our salvation is a punishment will be conquered not only by some but also by all in solidarity. This, my brothers and sisters, is why the month of December is being proposed to us; in a certain manner it recalls by reason of the season characterizing it that we are not to allow ourselves to be numbed by the coldness of unfaithfulness but should rather gain strength through the spirit of charity. [. . .]

III. [. . .] The December fast, occurring in winter, summons us to a mys- 2871
tical farming, which cultivates with spiritual zeal the riches of the harvest, of the vineyards, and of the orchards, by which human weakness is supported; and so the Lord's field is enriched by what is expended on its behalf, and what he never intended to be without fruit might be even more fertile in its own abundance. Certainly you understand that this refers to the progress of the whole Church, a progress whose germ is found in faith, whose growth is found in hope, and whose maturation is found in charity; for bodily mortification and attentiveness to prayer become truly pure when they are supported by the sanctification of almsgiving. As the Lord says, "Give alms and behold everything will be clean for you."[1]

113-B-6. SERMON 19. SERMON 8 ON THE FAST OF DECEMBER††a

II. My brothers and sisters, the usefulness of this observance is the 2872
major object of the Church's fasts, which according to the teaching of the

1. Prov 11:17. 2. Matt 5:7. 3. See Luke 6:36.

† Translated from SChr 200:204–7.

a. Sermon given on December 16, 451.

1. Luke 11:41.

†† Translated from SChr 200:210–11.

a. Sermon given on December 14, 452.

Holy Spirit have been so distributed throughout the year that the law of abstinence is found in each of its seasons. During Lent we celebrate a fast of springtime, at Pentecost a fast of summer, in September a fast of autumn, and during this month, December, a fast of winter; doing so we understand that nothing is free from the divine precepts and that all the elements serve the word of God for our instruction. [. . .]

113-B-7. SERMON 20. SERMON 9 ON THE DECEMBER FAST[†a]

2873 III. [. . .] May the privations of the faithful nourish the poor; may whatever we deny ourselves profit the needy. Even though frugality is a remedy that greatly benefits soul and body, the fasts themselves perhaps have little effect if they are not sanctified by performing works of mercy. In almsgiving is found a baptismal quality, for "just as water extinguishes fire, this is what almsgiving does for sin."[1] Likewise does the same Spirit say, "Wash, be pure."[2] Also, "Give alms and everything will be clean for you."[3] This is said in order that there be no doubt that the purity of rebirth can be recovered after many sins if we strive to purify ourselves by means of almsgiving.

113-B-8. SERMON 22. SERMON 2 ON CHRISTMAS[††a]

2874 III. My brothers and sisters, let us give thanks to God our Father, through his Son, and in the Holy Spirit. Let us give thanks to him who in his great mercy loved us and took pity on us, who "even when we were dead in our sins made us alive with Christ,"[1] doing so that we might become a new being, a new creation in him. May we then "put off the old self with its practices."[2] And being sharers in the divine nature, let us renounce the doings of the flesh. Christian, remember your dignity. Since you share in the divine nature, do not fall back into your former sordid lifestyle. Remember your head and to whose Body you belong. Recall that you have been taken from the power of darkness and placed in the light and kingdom of God. Through baptism you have been made a temple of the Holy Spirit.

2875 VI. [. . .] May the same tempter not seduce you anew by any of his ruses, and may he not spoil the joys proper to this feast by his clever lies, for he plays games with simple souls with the deadly belief held by some that today's solemnity appears to obtain its dignity not so much from Christ's birth but rather—as they say—from the rising of the "new sun."

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† Translated from SChr 200:224–25.

a. Sermon given in 445 or later.

1. Sir 3:30, LXX. 2. Isa 1:16. 3. Luke 11:41.

†† Translated from *Sermons. Léon le Grand*, vol. 2, ed. J. Leclercq and R. Dolle, SChr 22 bis (Paris, 1964) 80–81, 90–94.

a. Sermon given on December 25, 441.

1. Eph 2:5. 2. Col 3:9.

Their hearts being covered with a vast darkness, these people remain strangers to all progress of the true light[3] since they are still being led by the most stupid errors of paganism. Unable to lift the eyes of their spirit above what they see with their bodily eyes, they worship as divine the luminaries which were created to serve the world. [. . .]

113-B-9. SERMON 25. SERMON 5 ON CHRISTMAS[†a]

v. [. . .] This is why the Lord Jesus—alone among the children of men— 2876
was born innocent, the only person conceived without the stain of bodily concupiscence. He became one of us so that we might be able to share in the divine nature.[1] In the font of baptism he placed the source of the life he assumed in the womb of the Virgin; he gave the water what he had given to his mother, namely, the power of the Most High and the overshadowing of the Holy Spirit[2] whereby Mary brought a Savior into the world, whereby water gives new life to the believer. [. . .]

113-B-10. SERMON 26. SERMON 6 ON CHRISTMAS[††a]

II. [. . .] Today's feast renews for us the holy origins of Jesus, who was 2877
born of the Virgin Mary. As we adore the birth of our Savior, we find ourselves at the same time celebrating our own origins. The birth of Christ is the beginning of the Christian people, and the anniversary of the birth of the Head is the anniversary of the birth of his Body. Even though each person is in turn called and even though all the Church's children differ one from the other down through the ages, nevertheless, just as all the faithful born from the baptismal font have been crucified with Christ in his passion, have risen in his resurrection, and have been placed at the right hand of the Father through his ascension, so in this nativity we are also born with him. Every believer, no matter where in the world, who has been reborn in Christ and who breaks with the old way of life, is changed by being reborn as a new person.[1] [. . .]

113-B-11. SERMON 27. SERMON 7 ON CHRISTMAS[†††a]

IV. [. . .] When the sun rises at the very beginning of daybreak, some 2878
people are so foolish as to adore the sun from the peaks of the highest places. The same is true of Christians who believe they are acting

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3. See Eph 4:18.

† Translated from SChr 22 bis:132–33.

a. Sermon given in 444.

1. See 2 Pet 1:4. 2. See Luke 1:35.

†† Translated from SChr 22 bis:138–39.

a. Sermon given on December 25, 450.

1. See Col 3:10; 2 Cor 5:17.

††† Translated from SChr 22 bis:156–59.

a. Sermon given on December 25, 451.

religiously by following this practice, so that before entering the basilica of the blessed apostle Peter, which is dedicated to the one living and true God, and after having ascended the steps leading to the upper court, they turn to face the rising sun, lowering their heads and bowing toward the radiant circle.

2879 This manner of acting, partly due to ignorance and partly resulting from the spirit of paganism, greatly disturbs and bothers us. Even though it happens that some people honor the Creator of this light more than the light itself, a light that is created, nonetheless it is necessary to refrain from even giving the appearance of bestowing such honor; if those coming from the cult of the gods see us doing this, then will they not return to this part of their former practice, believing it to be acceptable since they see this being common to both Christians and the godless?

2880 v. May the faithful reject this damnable perversity and take care not to mix the honor due to God alone with the rites of those who are slaves to created things. [. . .]

113-B-12. SERMON 41. SERMON 3 ON LENT[†a]

2881 I. My sisters and brothers, indeed at all times we are to live in a wise and holy manner. We are to direct our desires and actions to what we know pleases divine justice. However, as the days approach which the sacraments of our salvation have made brighter for us, we should take greater care to purify our hearts and to exercise more zealously the discipline of virtue. Since these mysteries are greater than any one of them individually, so our devotion should in some way surpass what we have customarily been doing; the greater the feast, the more adorned should be those celebrating it. In fact, if it appears reasonable and somewhat religious to appear on feastdays wearing more attractive clothing and demonstrating the joy of the spirit by adorning the body, and if we also take greater care, as far as we are able, to decorate the very house of prayer with more attentive care and fuller ritual, is it not fitting for the Christian soul, which is God's true and living temple, to prepare its appearance prudently, and when it is to celebrate the mystery of its redemption, to jealously take care that no stain of injustice cloud the soul, that no wrinkle of duplicity defile it? [. . .]

113-B-13. SERMON 43. SERMON 5 ON LENT[††a]

2882 III. Beloved, when should we more fittingly hasten to the divine remedies than when the divine mysteries are brought to us by the very return

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† Translated from *Sermons. Léon le Grand*, vol. 2, ed. J. Leclercq and R. Dolle, SChr 49 bis (Paris, 1969) 90–93.

a. Sermon given on February 21, 443.

†† Translated from SChr 49 bis:122–23.

a. Sermon given on February 25, 445.

of the seasons? So that we may celebrate them more worthily, it will be highly beneficial for us to prepare ourselves by a fast of forty days. The help given by such a holy practice is not only useful and necessary for those who by means of the rebirth of baptism will pass to new life through the mystery of Christ's death and resurrection; it is also advantageous for all who have already been reborn. The former have need of it so that they might receive what they do not yet possess; the latter to conserve what they have already received. [. . .]

113-B-14. SERMON 44. SERMON 6 ON LENT[†a]

I. [. . .] The return of the days that are especially marked by the mys- 2883
tery of human restoration, days that immediately precede the paschal feast, commands us to prepare ourselves more carefully by a religious purification. Surely at any period of time numerous people lead innocent lives; indeed there are many who by their customary good deeds please God. Yet we should not so trust the integrity of our conscience so as to believe that human frailty, in the midst of the scandals and temptations surrounding it, can encounter nothing harmful. [. . .] The purpose of the paschal feast is that the whole Church may enjoy the forgiveness of sins, a forgiveness occurring not only in those who were reborn through holy baptism but also in those who are long numbered among God's adopted children. Although it is principally the washing of rebirth that makes us new,[1] yet all of us must daily renew ourselves, doing so in order to remedy the flaws inherent in our human condition. In addition, there are none who cannot always make progress on the road of perfection. Also, all are to strive so that on the day of redemption none will find themselves in their former sins.

II. Beloved, what each Christian is to do at all times we should now 2884
carry out with even greater faith and devotion; and so may we fulfill this apostolic obligation by fasting for forty days, not only reducing the amount we eat but especially abstaining from sin. In fact, since this mortification is intended to remove the kindling of bodily desires, no kind of abstinence is more to be practiced than that abstinence by which we will always be free from unlawful desires and be fasting from dishonorable actions. Such devotion does not exclude the sick nor leave out the weak, for even in a feeble and useless body the integrity of the soul may be found. [. . .]

To these reasonable and holy fasts nothing is more usefully added than 2885
the works of almsgiving. Under the one name of mercy are found many praiseworthy acts of goodness thanks to which, despite unequal means, the souls of the faithful can all be equal. [. . .]

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† Translated from SChr 49 bis:128–33.

a. Sermon given on February 25, 451.

1. See Eph 4:24; Col 3:10.

113-B-15. SERMON 47. SERMON 9 ON LENT†a

2886 I. My brothers and sisters, we know that among all the Christian solemnities the paschal sacrament is the major one. That we may observe it worthily and fittingly is why we arrange the institutions of the whole year. Yet the present days demand, and most greatly so, our devotion since we know that they are very close to this infinitely divine sacrament of divine mercy. Taking place during these days are the major fasts that have rightly been enjoined by the holy apostles through the teaching of the Holy Spirit so that through a common sharing in the cross of Christ we might also share in what he did for us, for as the apostle says, "If we suffer with him, we will also be glorified with him."[1]

113-B-16. SERMON 48. SERMON 10 ON LENT††a

2887 I. Among all the days of the year honored in various ways by Christian piety there is nothing, my brothers and sisters, that surpasses in excellence the paschal feast which consecrates the dignity of all the solemnities of the Church of God. Yes, even the Lord's birth from a mother was pointed toward this sacrament; God's Son had no other reason for being born other than to be nailed to a cross. In the Virgin's womb our mortal flesh was assumed; in this mortal flesh took place the economy of the passion; and thus the ineffable design of God's mercy brought it about that he became for us the sacrifice of redemption, the abolition of sin, and the beginning of rising unto eternal life.

2888 If we recall what the whole world received through the Lord's cross, we will acknowledge that it is right to prepare ourselves for celebrating the Pasch by a fast of forty days so that we may participate worthily in the divine mysteries. It is not only the highest bishops or the priests of the second order or only the ministers of the sacraments but the whole body of the Church, all the faithful, who should purify themselves of every stain so that God's temple, whose foundation is its very founder, might be made magnificent in all its stones and radiant in all its parts. [. . .]

2889 IV. And so, my dear brothers and sisters, whereas all times are good for practicing the works of charity, yet the present days invite us to do so in a special way: if we desire to celebrate the Lord's Pasch with a sanctified body and soul, let us strive above all to acquire this grace which contains all virtues and covers a multitude of sins.[1] Since we are about to observe the greatest of all mysteries by which Christ's blood has

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† Translated from SChr 49 bis:160–63.

a. Sermon given on February 21, 454.

1. Rom 8:17.

†† Translated from SChr 49 bis:170–71, 176–79.

a. Sermon given on March 13, 455.

1. See 1 Pet 4:8.

destroyed our sins, let us first of all prepare sacrifices of mercy.[2] What we have already received from God's goodness may we in turn grant to those who have sinned against us. May injuries be forgotten, may faults not be punished, and may the offenses of our subordinates not fear punishment. May no one be imprisoned, and may the accused cease to groan in their dark cells. If any should hold others guilty of some crime, may they not forget that they themselves are sinners. If they desire to receive mercy, then they should rejoice that they have found those to whom they might show mercy. When we say, as the Lord taught us, "Forgive us our sins as we forgive those who have sinned against us,"[3] we do not doubt that we have received divine mercy according to the measure formulated by our prayer.

v. Our generosity must now be more generously extended toward 2890
the poor and toward those afflicted by various disabilities; in this way thanks is returned to God by the voices of many,[4] and the nourishment of the poor supports our fasts. No act of devotion done by the faithful is more pleasing to the Lord than what is showered on the poor; where God finds merciful care, there God recognizes the image of divine goodness.[5] [. . .]

113-B-17. SERMON 49. SERMON 11 ON LENT[†a]

vi. [. . .] May Christians as they distribute alms and care for the poor 2891
grow fat while fasting; what each of us takes from our own delights should be expended on behalf of the weak and needy. May this be done so that all praise God with one voice. Those who give should know that they are ministers of the divine mercy, the mercy that has placed the fate of the poor in the hands of the one who gives. The sins that are cleansed by the waters of baptism or by the tears of penance are also wiped away by almsgiving, for Scripture says, "Just as water quenches fire, so almsgiving extinguishes sin."[1] [. . .]

113-B-18. SERMON 50. SERMON 12 ON LENT[††a]

i. My dear brothers and sisters, the paschal solemnity is approaching. 2892
At hand is the customary fast that precedes it, the fast we are to observe throughout forty days for the sanctification of our bodies and souls. This feast is, in fact, the greatest of all the feasts we will observe. Consequently we should prepare ourselves by this fast so that we might die with him in his passion so as to rise with him in his resurrection. [. . .]

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2. See Heb 13:16. 3. Matt 6:12. 4. See 2 Cor 9:12. 5. See Luke 6:36.

† Translated from SChr 49 bis:190–93.

a. Sermon given on February 17, 457.

1. Sir 3:29.

†† Translated from SChr 49 bis:192–95.

a. Sermon given on March 9, 458.

113-B-19. SERMON 63. SERMON 12 ON THE PASSION[†a]

2893 VI. All that the Son of God did and taught[1] for the reconciliation of the world we know not only by an historical account of what he once did, but we also experience its effect in the power of what he is now doing. It is he, born of the Virgin Mary through the Holy Spirit, who makes fecund his pure Church by the same Spirit. In this way the birth of baptism brings forth an untold multitude of God's children. [. . .] When we renounce the devil and believe in God, when we pass from old life to new life,[2] when we put off the image of an earthly creature to take on the form of a heavenly person,[3] a type of death and a certain likeness of the resurrection occur: those who are received by Christ and those who receive Christ are no longer after the bath what they were before baptism; the body of the person who has been reborn becomes the flesh of the Crucified.

2894 VII. [. . .] Once the leaven of the old evil has been thrown out, the new creature is inebriated and nourished from the Lord. Sharing in the Lord's Body and Blood does nothing else but that we become what we receive, and we carry everywhere, in body and in spirit, him in whom and with whom we have died, have been buried, and have risen. [. . .]

113-B-20. SERMON 64. SERMON 13 ON THE PASSION OF THE LORD[††a]

2895 I. My dear brothers and sisters, certainly at all times the mystery of the Lord's passion and resurrection occupies the thoughts of Christians. No observance in our religion fails to celebrate the reconciliation of the world as well as the elevation of human nature in Christ. But the whole Church should now work hard, doing so with a greater understanding, and should be inflamed with more glowing hope when these great realities are manifested by the return of these most holy days and in the pages of the Gospel of truth. In this way the Lord's Pasch is not only remembered as a past event but is honored as something present.

113-B-21. SERMON 70. SERMON 19 ON THE PASSION OF THE LORD[†††a]

2896 IV. My dear brothers and sisters, for us to be inseparably joined to this mystery, we must make the greatest effort of soul and body since, if it would be very sinful to neglect the paschal feast, it would be even more perilous to be a member of the Church's assembly and yet not share in the Lord's passion. As the Lord said, "Whoever does not take up his cross and

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[†] Translated from *Sermons. Léon le Grand*, vol. 3, ed. J. Leclercq and R. Dolle, SChr 74 (Paris, 1961) 158–63.

a. Sermon given on March 19 (Wednesday of Holy Week) in 452.

1. See Acts 1:1. 2. See Rom 7:6. 3. See 1 Cor 15:49.

[††] Translated from SChr 74:162–65.

a. Sermon given on April 5 (Palm Sunday) in 453.

[†††] Translated from SChr 74:234–37.

a. Sermon given on April 2 (Good Friday) in 443.

follow me is not worthy of me."[1] And as the apostle says, "If you suffer with me you will reign with me."[2] Now who honors the Christ who suffered, died, and rose except those who have suffered, died, and risen with him? And for all the children of the Church this begins with the very mystery of rebirth where death to sin is life for those who have been reborn, and where the triple immersion is the image of the three days the Lord was dead; and once the rock in front of the tomb was in some way removed, the waters of baptism brought forth as new those whom the font received into its womb as old. Nevertheless, what is celebrated in mystery must be completed through deeds. Those born of the Holy Spirit should not pass whatever time they have in the world without taking up the cross. [. . .]

113-B-22. SERMON 75. SERMON 1 ON PENTECOST†[a]

1. My dear brothers and sisters, the hearts of all Catholics know that 2897
today's solemnity is to be honored as one of our principal feasts. No doubt exists as to the great reverence we should show to this day which the Holy Spirit has consecrated by the most wonderful miracle of the gift of the Spirit itself. Today is, in fact, the tenth day after the day on which our Lord ascended above the highest heavens to sit at the right hand of God his Father. Additionally, it is the fiftieth day after the resurrection of the same Lord who, for our benefit, enlightened us regarding him from whom light began. [. . .]

V. [. . .] My dear brothers and sisters, together let us rouse ourselves to 2898
venerate Pentecost and to rejoice in honor of the Holy Spirit who sanctifies the whole Catholic Church and who fills every rational soul. The Holy Spirit is the inspirer of faith, the teacher of knowledge, the source of love, the seal of chastity, the source of all strength. May the hearts of the faithful rejoice that throughout the whole world one God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, is praised and confessed in all languages, and that the sign, which appeared under the form of fire, continues to exist in deed and as a gift. It is, in fact, this same Spirit of truth who has the dwelling place of its glory shine with the brightness of its light and who permits nothing that is dark or tepid to exist within its temple. The Spirit's strength and teaching give the power of purification to our fasting and almsgiving. This venerable day will be followed by a most wholesome custom which all the holy ones have always experienced as being most useful. With the care of a shepherd we urge you to celebrate this diligently so that if in the course of the past days we have contracted any stain due to carelessness or negligence, the discipline of the fast will correct it, and pious devotion will erase it. Let us fast on Wednesday and Friday; on Saturday may we again gather here to keep vigil with our accustomed devotion. [. . .]

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1. Matt 10:38. 2. Rom 8:17 and 2 Tim 2:12.

† Translated from SChr 74:286, 294–97.

a. Sermon given on May 23, 443.

113-B-23. SERMON 78. SERMON 1 ON THE FAST OF PENTECOST[†a]

2899 I. My dear brothers and sisters, today's feast, a feast consecrated by the descent of the Holy Spirit, is followed by a solemn fast. With the utmost of enthusiasm we are to observe this fast as a wholesome practice for healing both body and soul. The apostles were filled with the strength that was promised to them[1] because the Spirit of truth had entered their hearts. We do not doubt that among all the mysteries of the heavenly teaching, the apostles from the very beginning took this discipline of spiritual abstinence from the teaching of the Paraclete so that souls sanctified by fasting might be rendered more fitting to receive the gifts that would be conferred on them. [. . .]

113-B-24. SERMON 91. SERMON 6 ON THE FAST OF SEPTEMBER[††a]

2900 III. My dear brothers and sisters, may this profession of faith spring from the bottom of your hearts; through it reject the impious arguments of the heretics so that your fasting and almsgiving may not be soiled by any contamination of error; in fact, our sacrificial offering is pure, and the generosity inspired by mercy is holy when those who perform works of mercy understand what they are doing. Since the Lord said, "Unless you eat the flesh of the Son of Man and unless you drink his blood you will not have life in you,"[1] so should you participate at the Holy Table, in no way doubting the reality [*veritas*] of Christ's Body and Blood. In fact, what a person receives in the mouth is what is believed by faith. It is useless for those who dispute against what they receive to answer "Amen." [. . .]

114. MAXIMUS OF TURIN

Almost nothing is known of the life of this bishop of Turin other than that he died during the reign of Honorius and Theodosius the Younger, thus sometime between 409 and 428. Formerly this Maximus was mistakenly identified with a later Maximus who attended the Synod of Milan (451) and that of Rome (465).

CPL nos. 220–26b * Altaner (1961) 545–46 * Altaner (1966) 458–59 * Bardenhewer (1913) 4:610–13 * Bardenhewer (1910) 455–56 * Bardenhewer (1908) 527–28 * Labriolle (1947) 2:666–68 * Quasten 4:574–75 * Steidle 160 * Tixeront 279 * CATH 8:1006 * CE 10:81 * DCB 3:881–82 * DictSp 10:852–56 * DPAC 2:2176–79 * DTC 10.1:464–66 * EC 8:311–12 * EEC 1:548–49 * EEChr 2:743–44 * LTK 7:13 * NCE 9:516 * NCES 9:378–79 * ODCC 1061 * PEA (1991) 7:1080–81 * TRE 22:304–7

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† Translated from *Sermons. Léon le Grand*, vol. 4, ed. J. Leclercq and R. Dolle, SChr 200 (Paris, 1973) 126–27.

a. Sermon given on May 11, 441.

1. See Luke 24:49; Acts 1:8.

†† Translated from SChr 200 (Paris, 1973) 126–27.

a. Sermon given in September 453.

1. John 6:53.

C. Callewaert, "Le carême à Turin au Ve siècle d'après s. Maxime," RB 32 (1920) 132–44; repr. in *Sacris erudiri: fragmenta . . .*, (Steenbrugge, 1940) 516–28. * F.R. Montgomery, "The 'Explanatio Symboli ad Initiandos' Compared with Rufinus and Maximus of Turin," JThSt 47 (1946) 58–69. * A. Mutzenbecher, "Der Festinhalt von Weihnachten und Epiphanie in den echten Sermones des Maximus Taurinensis," SP 5, TU 80 (Berlin, 1962) 109–16. * I. Biffi, "Della predicazione pasquale di s. Massimo di Torino: testi e commenti," Amb 40 (1964) 131–39. * I. Biffi, "La Cinquantina pasquale nella predicazione di s. Massimo: testi e commenti," Amb 40 (1964) 324–33. * I. Biffi, "Teologia e spiritualità del 'dies beatissimae epyfaniae' in s. Massimo di Torino," Amb 40 (1964) 517–44. * I. Biffi, "Tempo temi e spiritualità quaresimale nei sermoni autentici di s. Massimo di Torino," Amb 41 (1965) 129–58. * M. Pellegrino, "La tipologia battesimale in s. Massimo di Torino: l'incontro con la Samaritana e le nozze di Cana," Rivista de storia e letteratura religiosa 1 (1965) 260–68. * I. Biffi, "I temi della predicazione natalizia di s. Massimo di Torino," Amb 42 (1966) 23–47. * P. Visentin, "'Christus ipse est sacramentum' in s. Massimo di Torino," in *Miscellanea G. Lercaro*, vol. 2 (Rome, 1967) 27–51. * G. Rossetto, "La testimonianza liturgica di Massimo I, voscovo di Torino," *Ricerche storiche sulla Chiesa Ambrosiana*, vol. 1 (Milan, 1970) 158–203. * A. Saenz, "La celebración de los misterios en los sermones de s. Maximo de Turin," diss. (Buenos Aires, 1970). * A. Fitzgerald, "The Relationship of Maximus of Turin to Rome and Milan: A Study of Penance and Pardon," Aug 27 (1987) 465–86. * M. Modemann, *Die Taufe in den Predigten des hl. Maximus v. Turin*, European University Studies, Series XXIII, Theology 537 (Frankfurt and New York, 1995). * R. Etaix, "Catéchèse inédite sur Ephpheta," REAug 42 (1996) 65–70.

114-A. Sermons

Of the numerous sermons attributed to Maximus, some one hundred are generally considered to be authentic. They are short (perhaps extracts from longer works), popular, pastorally oriented, and offer a good insight into the religious culture and liturgy of Turin during the late fourth and early fifth centuries.

114-A-1. SERMON 13. ON THE GRACE OF BAPTISM[†]

11. And so, my brothers and sisters, we are to be washed in the same 2901
spring in which Christ was washed so that we might become what Christ was. With all due respect for the faith, allow me to say that even though both baptisms are the Lord's, nonetheless I believe that the baptism by which we are washed is more pleasing than that by which the Savior was washed. Christ celebrates the former, John the latter; the Savior invites us in the former, in the latter the teacher makes excuses for himself; in the former the Trinity is perfect, in the latter righteousness is incomplete; in the former a sinner comes and then departs as a holy person, in the latter a holy person comes and a holy person departs; in the former sins are

[†] Translated from *Collectionem Sermonum Antiquam Nonnullis Extravagantibus Adiectis Maximi Episcopi Tauriensis*, ed. A. Mutzenbecher, CCL 23 (Turnhout, 1962) 51.

forgiven by a mystery, in the latter a blessing is given to the mysteries. My brothers and sisters, we should therefore be baptized in the same spring as was the Savior. But to be immersed in the same spring, we need not look toward the east or toward a river in Jewish lands. Christ is now everywhere, the Jordan is everywhere. The same consecration that sanctified the rivers of the East now sanctifies those of the West. And so even though a river is perhaps named differently here in our world, nonetheless, it contains the mystery of the Jordan.

114-A-2. SERMON 13A. ON THE HOLY EPIPHANY†

2902 III. Today, therefore, Christ is baptized in the Jordan. Now what type of baptism is this where the one who is immersed is cleaner than the spring? Where the water that washes the person who enters it does not become dirty but is honored with blessings? What kind of baptism is that of the Savior, I ask, in which the waters are more purified than purifying? By a new type of sanctification the water does not so much wash Christ as the water itself is washed. When the Savior was immersed in water, by the mystery of baptism he consecrated the movement of all the streams and the channels of all the springs so that those wishing to be baptized in the name of the Lord are not made clean by the waters of the world but are purified by the waters of Christ. The Savior wished to be baptized not to be made clean but to cleanse the waters for us.

114-A-3. SERMON 22A. ON ALMSGIVING††

2903 III. [. . .] In a marvelous way does the water of Christ at one and the same time give life and extinguish life. It gives life to souls and quenches sins; by the refreshment of its bath it renews souls; by the movement of the water it consumes sins. As to the higher grace of baptism, the mystery is celebrated in heaven above whereas gehenna is extinguished below; here waters flow, there fire cools; here a person is immersed in the spring, there one is set free from the regions below. Yet there is nothing wonderful in the fact that hell is opened in the sacrament of baptism since in baptism heaven also is opened.[1] These places are opened so that freedom and grace might come together in the bath of Christ, in grace from heaven, in freedom from hell. Freedom is granted to those who will rise, grace to those who will reign; the former are torn away from punishment, the latter are raised unto glory; those who were slaves of sin become children of righteousness, those who were held by the difficulties of the world look upon the beauties of paradise. Therefore in the baptism of Christ both heaven and hell are opened; heaven so that the Holy Spirit might come, hell so

† Translated from CCL 23:45–46.

†† Translated from CCL 23:88–89.

1. See Matt 3:16.

that the mercy of the Savior might visit us. Life is brought down from heaven, death is destroyed in hell. Just as almsgiving extinguishes sins, so the waters of baptism quench the fires of hell.

IV. Therefore almsgiving is in a certain way a bath of the soul so that 2904
if anyone should fail after baptism due to human weakness, he or she can again be made clean, in this case by almsgiving, for as the Lord says, "Give alms and behold all things are clean for you."[2] With all due respect for the faith, I might say that almsgiving is more forgiving than baptism. Baptism is conferred only once and promises forgiveness only once; almsgiving, however, as often as it occurs, so often does it promise forgiveness. These are the two springs of mercy that give life and forgive sin. Those who use each will be adorned with the honor of the heavenly kingdom; those who approach the streams of mercy after having soiled the living spring will themselves obtain mercy.

114-A-4. SERMON 35. ON THE FAST: AT THE BEGINNING OF LENT†

III. [. . .] This precept of his is first, namely, that during these forty days 2905
we direct our attention to fasting, prayer, and vigils. By fasting bodily licentiousness is punished, by prayer the devout soul is fed, by vigils the snares of the devil are repulsed. When during these days we obey such precepts, then the soul, purged and wearied by so many observances, comes to baptism and is refreshed by the outpouring of the Holy Spirit. Whatever the fever of various illnesses has dried up in the soul is steeped in the moisture of heavenly grace so that, laying aside the corruption of the old self, it acquires the character of new youth. In a wonderful way and in one and the same person holiness follows sin, righteousness follows iniquity, infancy follows old age; by a new type of birth the sinner is reborn.

IV. By fasting continuously for a period of forty days and forty nights,[1] 2906
Elijah merited to extinguish the prolonged and severe dryness[2] of the whole world,[3] doing so with a stream of rain and steeping the earth's dryness with the bounty of water from heaven. We know that this was done as a figure of ourselves[4] so that we, also fasting a total of forty days, might merit the spiritual rain of baptism. In this way and for the benefit of our brothers and sisters, a shower from heaven might pour down upon the dry earth of the whole world, and the abundant waters of the saving bath might saturate the lengthy drought of the Gentiles. Whoever is not washed by the grace of baptism suffers aridity and burning of the soul. By a fast of forty days and nights[5] Moses merited to speak with God,[6] to stand and remain with God, and to receive God's commandments. For

2. Luke 11:41.

† Translated from CCL 23:137–39.

1. See 1 Kgs 19:8. 2. See 1 Kgs 17:1. 3. See 1 Kgs 18:41–46. 4. See 1 Cor 10:6. 5. See Exod 24:18. 6. See Exod 31:18.

although Moses' human condition did not allow him to see God, the grace of fasting allowed him to be close to the Divinity. When we fast often, part of God's power dwells in us since it is God himself who fasts. God is more friendly, intimate, and affable toward the person in whom God has seen more of his works, for as Scripture says, "And Moses spoke with God face to face like speaking to his friend."[7] The Lord Jesus Christ also, when he was about to possess the glory of the resurrection, consecrated his virtues by a fast of forty days and nights in order to show that not bread but the commandments give us life. And so by the fast of forty days God is reconciled, the heavens as well as the depths are opened. Therefore, my brothers and sisters, during this season let us fast continually and devoutly so that the Lord may be appeased by us, that the heavens may be opened to us, and that hell may not prevail.[8]

114-A-5. SERMON 36. A SEQUEL TO "BE NOT DISSOLUTE DURING THE TIME OF FASTING"[†]

2907 II. My brothers and sisters, do you believe that they are actually fasting, they who at daybreak fail to keep watch in church, who do not eagerly seek out the shrines of the holy martyrs, but who after rising gather their slaves, prepare their nets, bring out their dogs, and head for the forests and the woodlands? They drag along the slaves, who perhaps were on their way to church, and so they add the sins of others to their own delights, not realizing that they will be held guilty not only of their own offenses but also of the ruin of their slaves. They spend the whole day hunting, at one time emitting an unbridled cry, at another time quietly calling for silence; happy if they have captured something, irritated if they are deprived of what they could not have. With great eagerness they carry on as if the hunt were a public fast. My brothers and sisters, tell me what worship of God, what devotion of the soul, can there be in those who fast not to have time for God and for prayer but to pass the whole day, idle and lazy, in pursuing their own illicit desires! You, my brothers, however much you act in this way, you return home in the evening, take food at sunset, and so appear to have eaten rather late in the day. Yet you have not fasted for the sake of the Lord. You cannot think that the Lord's will is done by following your own will, for he desires that we fast both from food and from sin. We value abstinence for the body so that the soul may more completely abstain from vices since a weakened body is a brake for a dissolute soul. Those who fast and sin appear to be accumulating food and not contributing to their own salvation; they seem to be replenishing their pantries with food, not to be nourishing their souls with the practice of virtues.

2908 III. Some, however, are so forgetful of the divine precepts that they so rule it over their slaves and subjects that during these days they do not

7. Exod 33:11. 8. See Matt 16:18.

[†] Translated from CCL 23:141–43.

hesitate to scourge, beat, and shackle them. Perhaps a server at table is somewhat late in arriving; immediately they wound him with their blows and satisfy themselves with his blood before enjoying the meal. Such is the fast of those who do so not to call down God's mercy but send forth the cry of a household moaning in pain. All who want to be deserving of God's mercy must be the first to show mercy. As is written, "For the measure with which you measure will be measured back to you."[1] What is even sadder, these days even a Christian master does not refrain from injuring a Christian slave, paying little attention to the fact that even though these people are slaves by reason of their condition of life, they are our brothers and sisters by reason of grace. They also have clothed themselves with Christ.[2] They share the same sacraments. They have the same God and Father as you do. Then why are you not their brothers and sisters? There are many who, on returning from the hunt, take better care of their dogs than they do of their slaves. They have their hounds lie down or sleep beside them; they feed them each day, and yet care not whether their slaves die from hunger. And what is more serious, if food has not been diligently prepared for them, a slave is killed instead of a dog. In some households you see healthy and fat dogs running about, but the people you meet are pale and weak. Will those who show the least mercy toward their own households ever show mercy toward the poor?

IV. My brothers and sisters, we should, therefore, know that the fast 2909
pleasing to God is the one whereby we not only punish our bodies through abstinence but also clothe our souls with humility. May we be kind to our slaves, be friendly to strangers, and be merciful to the poor. Rising at dawn, let us hasten to church, give thanks to God, request pardon for our offenses, seek forgiveness for past sins and protection against future ones. May our whole day be devoted to constant prayer or reading. Those who do not know how to read should seek out a holy man and find nourishment by conversing with him. May the things of the world not impede those of God. May no game of chance divert our minds. May taking pleasure in dogs not seduce our understanding of things. May turning a profit in business dealings not subvert our souls with avarice. Whenever you do something other than what God commands, even though you abstain, you are not fasting. The fast that saves is this: just as the body refrains from food, so the soul refrains from vices. My brothers and sisters, there is something I should also mention if our fast is to be perfect: we who during this time abstain and eat little are to give our food to the poor. It is true righteousness if when you are hungry, you fill another with your food, if you, while fasting, beseech the Lord because of your sins, and if the person whose hunger has been satisfied pleads on your behalf. Both profit you: your hunger and the replenishment of the poor. Those who fast in such a way that nothing is given to the poor from their own table give

1. Luke 6:38. 2. See Gal 3:27.

the appearance of having themselves benefited from the fast; by economizing they have transacted a piece of business. [. . .]

114-A-6. SERMON 44. ON PENTECOST†

2910 I. My brothers and sisters, your holiness should know why we are observing this holy day of Pentecost, why there is a continuous and unbroken festival of fifty days, why throughout this entire season no fast is called for, and why we do not prostrate when imploring God but, as is customary on the Lord's Day, stand when we festively celebrate the Lord's resurrection. We consider Sunday to be venerable and solemn because on this day the Savior, like the rising sun that has dispersed the darkness below, shined forth with the light of his resurrection. For this reason people on earth call Sunday the "day of the sun" because the risen Christ, the sun of justice,[1] illuminates it. Therefore the whole span of fifty days is celebrated like Sunday, and all these days are considered to be Sundays because the resurrection is Sunday. The Savior, rising on Sunday, returned to the people, remaining with them for a full fifty days after the resurrection. And thus where holiness is equal, so must festivity be equal. For the Lord arranged it that just as we grieve over his suffering with a fast of forty days, so we rejoice over his resurrection with a celebration of fifty days.

2911 II. Thus we do not fast during *Quinquagesima* because on these days the Lord dwells among us. We do not fast, I say, when the Lord is present because he himself says, "Can you have the friends of the bridegroom fast while the bridegroom is still with them?"[2] Why is the body to refrain from food when the soul is filled with the presence of the Lord? Those who fast cannot be refreshed by the Savior's grace; for the company of Christ is, as it were, a certain type of food for Christians. [. . .]

2912 IV. Let us therefore rejoice on this holy day just as we rejoiced at the Pasch. On each day the solemnity is one and the same. At the Pasch all the pagans are ordinarily baptized; on Pentecost the apostles were baptized, as the Lord said to his disciples shortly before ascending into heaven, "John baptized with water; you, however, will be baptized with the Holy Spirit whom you will receive within a few days."[3] [. . .]

114-A-7. SERMON 50. ON THE FAST AND ON THE HOLY *QUADRAGESIMA*††

2913 I. My brothers and sisters, some Christians believe that they obey the divine precepts by not observing *Quadragesima*, a season we begin today. Instead, they observe *Quinquagesima* and thereby deceive themselves since this is not commanded by the divine writings nor handed down by the authority of the ancients. They act in this way by an obstinacy of the spirit, and while they think they are behaving more religiously, they are

† Translated from CCL 23:178–80.

1. See Mal 3:20. 2. Luke 5:34. 3. Acts 1:5.

†† Translated from CCL 23:197–99.

living more superstitiously. Those who are scarcely capable of observing *Quadragesima* say they are observing *Quinquagesima*. Certainly it is good to fast at all times, but it is better to fast with Christ during *Quadragesima*, which the Lord by his own fast consecrated for us.[1] Notice that I said "fast" and not "fasts" since for the Lord there was only one fast because he took no food whatever during a continuous period of forty days and forty nights. Therefore Christians who do not fast during these hallowed forty days will be charged with incompetence and stubbornness since by eating they violate a law given by God for our salvation. Whoever does not follow the example of the Lord's fast breaks the law. Now what kind of Christian are you when you eat while the Lord is fasting? What kind of a Christian are you when you feed yourself while Christ is going hungry? He suffered hunger for your salvation. And you fear fasting for your sins? Tell me—I am asking those of you who eat during *Quadragesima*—do you not have guilty consciences since when all the people are abstaining, you alone eat, doing so contrary to the Lord's command? Are you not ashamed to appear in public where someone who is fasting may happen to meet you? Or when you go to church, do you not reflect on how you will extend the peace to the bishop lest the very odor of your kiss condemn you? Now if you do not think about these things, then perhaps you have erred very greatly. You should know that when during *Quadragesima* a person who has eaten encounters someone who is fasting, the one who is fasting does not kindly judge the other. And so I say this: I hear that many—worse yet, even some of faithful—abstain every other week during *Quadragesima*, thereby violating that sacred number of days by the intemperance of gluttony, that is, by eating on seven consecutive days and fasting for seven days. This is what I have to say to them. Why do you deceive yourselves by fasting throughout those seven days since such a fast avails nothing? For even if a person abstains on certain days, even though a person does not eat more delectable food, nonetheless, the fast of *Quadragesima* is not credited to those who do not observe a forty day fast. I blush to say that elderly men and women observe the *Quadragesima* fast, whereas the rich and the young do not. May we most carefully celebrate this holy time; may no day pass without our fasting; may not a single week pass without our keeping vigil. *Quadragesima* is kept by those who advance toward the Pasch by fasting and by keeping vigil. For just as fasting during the rest of the year merits a reward, so failure to fast during *Quadragesima* is a sin. The former fasts are voluntary, the latter are necessary; the former come from our free will, the latter from the law; we are invited to the former, we must observe the latter.

11. Let us now consider the origin of the most sacred number "forty." 2914
First, we read in the Old Testament that at the time of Noah, when the whole human race was seized by impious wickedness, streams of water

1. See Matt 4:2.

poured down for this number of days from the open floodgates of heaven.[2] By a certain mystery of *Quadragesima* this downpour over the whole world does not so much refer to a flood as it does to baptism. Clearly it is through baptism that evil is taken away from sinners and that Noah's righteousness is retained. Therefore the Lord has given us *Quadragesima* as the equivalent of that time so that, once we have kept this number of days, heaven will be opened and its rain of mercy might come down upon us; through baptism the water of the saving flood might enlighten us, and—as was done at that time—that the evil of sin might be extinguished in us by the flood of the water, and that the righteousness of virtues might be retained. What we understand as taking place at the time of Noah also occurs today. For a sinner baptism is the flood; for a believer it is a consecration. [. . .]

2915 III. Let us also consider whether we can find this mystical number of forty elsewhere in the Scriptures. We read that blessed Moses for a period of forty years fed the children of Israel in the desert with heavenly manna. Therefore good is the number that always opens heaven. Good, I say, is the number through which Noah's righteousness is retained and the children of Israel are fed. Thus we observe this number so that heaven will be opened for us, so that the rain of spiritual grace might wash us, and so that the manna of the spiritual sacraments might refresh us. Imitating our ancestors, we are justified and nourished by this observance of *Quadragesima*: we are justified by the washing, we are nourished by the sacraments. [. . .]

114-A-8. SERMON 54. A SEQUEL "ON THE HOLY PASCH"†

2916 I. Beloved, God has given us a wonderful gift on this salutary paschal day, a day when the risen Lord offers resurrection to all. Ascending from the depths to the heights, in his body he raised us up from what is below to what is above. According to the apostle, as Christians we are all Christ's Body and members.[1] When Christ rose, all his members had to rise with him. When passing from what is below to what is above, Christ took care that we also would pass from death to life.[2] The Hebrew word *pascha* means "passage" [*transitus*] or "progress" [*profectus*] since in this mystery there is a passage from what is worse to what is better. And so it is good to pass from sin to righteousness, from vice to virtue, from old age to infancy. [. . .]

114-A-9. SERMON 55. A SEQUEL "ON THE HOLY PASCH"††

2917 I. [. . .] It is a certain type of renewal to cease being what you were and to take upon yourself what you once had been. Renewal, I say, is why

2. See Gen 7:17–20.

† Translated from CCL 23:218.

1. See 1 Cor 12:27. 2. See John 5:24.

†† Translated from CCL 23:221.

they are called neophytes since by a certain newness they have thrown away the sins of the past and have put on the grace of simplicity, for as the apostle says, "Stripping off the old self with its practices, clothe yourselves with the new self which is created according to God."[1] And also blessed David says, "May your youth be renewed like the eagle's."[2] [. . .] Our recently baptized neophytes have put aside their former clothing as eagles [do their plumage] and have put on the clothing of holiness. [. . .]

114-A-10. SERMON 63. ON THE CALENDS OF JANUARY[†]

1. Beloved, I have no small grievance against you. I have in mind those 2918
who, after celebrating the Lord's nativity with us, give themselves over to the feasts of the pagans; after sharing in the heavenly banquet they prepare for themselves a meal of superstition so that those who formerly were rejoicing with holiness are afterwards drunk with deceit, forgetting that those who wish to rule with Christ cannot rejoice with the world, forgetting that those who desire to attain righteousness must reject dissipation. The business of eternal life is one thing, the hopelessness of worldly licentiousness is another. We ascend to the former in virtue, we descend to the latter in destruction. And so those who desire to share in divine things are not to frequent the company of idols since the lot of idols is to intoxicate the mind through wine, to enlarge the stomach through food, to distort the limbs through dancing, and to be so taken up with evil actions that one is forced to neglect the very existence of God. Here is what the holy apostle, foreseeing all this, says: "What partnership is there between righteousness and iniquity? Or what fellowship exists between light and darkness? Or what partnership is there between a believer and an unbeliever? What agreement does God's temple have with idols?"[1] Therefore if we are God's temple,[2] then why is the festival of idols celebrated in God's temple? Why do gluttony, drunkenness, and licentiousness inhabit the place where Christ dwells, a place of abstinence, temperance, and chastity? The Savior says, "No one can serve two masters, namely, God and mammon."[3]

11. How, then, can you religiously observe the epiphany of the Lord 2919
when you have expended the greatest effort in most devoutly celebrating the calends of Janus? Janus was a human being, the founder of a city which is called Janiculum,[a] in whose honor the calends of January have been named. And so whoever celebrates the calends of January commits sin because divine worship is given to a dead man. This is why the apostle says, "You observe days and months and seasons and years; I fear that I have labored among you in vain."[4] Those who observe a day and a month

1. Col 3:9–10. 2. Ps 103:5.

[†] Translated from CCL 23:266–67.

a. See Virgil's *Aeneid* 8:357ff.

1. 2 Cor 6:14–16. 2. See 2 Cor 6:16. 3. Matt 6:24. 4. Gal 4:10–11.

are those who on these days either have not fasted or did not go to church. Those who observed a day yesterday did not go to church but went to a field of recreation. Therefore, my brothers and sisters, may we most zealously reject the festivities and feasts of the pagans so that when they celebrate and make merry, we at that time might be sober and fasting, thus having them realize that their rejoicing is condemned by our abstinence.

114-A-11. SERMON 67. A SEQUEL "ON *QUADRAGESIMA*"†

2920 I. Last year we frequently explained the reason for the holy *Quadragesima*, which begins today; often did we give instruction as to why we fast for so many days. We said that the Lord Jesus Christ consecrated this same number of days by a fast; by not taking any food during this continuous period of days and nights,[1] he established one period of fasting; although the pattern of the day was broken by night's arrival, the pattern of the fast was not broken. Consequently with the Lord there were many moments of time but one day of abstinence. This shows us that we should fast for the full number of days in such a way that since we are unable to carry out the whole *Quadragesima* by an uninterrupted and single fast, we celebrate the season by an uninterrupted series of daily fasts. If someone should neglect to abstain on any one day, that person has violated *Quadragesima* as a whole and forfeits the fruit of great labor because food was eaten throughout a short length of time.

2921 II. But someone says, "Often enough we have heard why we are to observe *Quadragesima*. Frequently we have been told that the Lord consecrated it. But we want to know why *Quadragesima* has forty-two days."[a] In the Old Testament we read that when blessed Moses brought forth the children of Israel from under the yoke of the Egyptian captivity in order to lead them into the Promised Land, he arrived there in stages of forty-two days.[2] He took possession of that land by the same number whereby we come to enjoy what the Savior has promised us. It was, I say, by the same number of stages that Moses obtained a place of rest, the same number by which we through our fasting hasten toward heaven. [. . .]

2922 III. By a period of forty-two days the people of Israel came to the waters of the Jordan; by the same number the Christian people arrive at the waters of baptism. As the prophet says, "The Jordan turned back."[3] At that time when the Israelites entered the water of the river, the water evaded them; now for those who descend into the spring, the sins of their crimes are dispersed. There the river, which was wonderfully turned back, returns to its source; here those who have been called back are restored to the infancy of their origins. There the water seeks the source from which it

† Translated from CCL 23:280–81.

a. At this time *Quadragesima* extended for a full six weeks, including Friday and Saturday of Holy Week as also being days of fast.

1. See Matt 4:2. 2. See Num 33:1–49. 3. Ps 114:3.

came forth; here innocence recognizes the person from whom it departed. There the stream-bed is emptied of its waters; here hearts are emptied of their sins. There the muddy water does not wash the servants of God; here a soiled conscience does not defile the servants of God. The Jordan is, as it were, a bath through which pass those who leave their sins behind and enter the paradise that has been promised. And so in this number of forty-two the people of Israel, leaving Egypt, pass through the waves of the Red Sea. In this number we also, departing the Egypt of this world, pass through the tepid waters of a burning gehenna. [. . .]

114-A-12. SERMON 73. A SEQUEL "ON FEARING SPIRITUAL RATHER THAN BODILY ENEMIES AND ON THANKING GOD AFTER MEALS"†

IV. When evening brings day to a close, we should praise God through 2923
the Psalter. We should sing God's praises in a well-modulated and pleasant voice so that, the struggle of our daily labor having ended, we as victors might merit rest, and the forgetfulness occasioned by sleep might be, as it were, the victory brought about by our toil. My brothers and sisters, not only by reason are we taught this, but we are also reminded by example. For when dawn produces the light of day, do we not notice that the smallest birds in the bedchambers of their nests sound forth with various sweet melodies since they cannot do so by speaking? Do we not notice how each bird, being unable to talk, makes an offering by means of a melody so that it believes it has more religiously given thanks the more sweetly it has expressed itself? And does it not do the same once day has ended? [. . .]

V. Is there anyone who would not blush to close the day without praying 2924
the psalms since the birds themselves give pleasure by the sweetness of the Psalter? Is there anyone who would not, with the delight of its verses, glorify him whom the birds praise with their melodious song? Therefore, my brothers and sisters, imitate these tiny birds by giving thanks to the Creator both day and night; and if you are more pious, imitate the nightingale which is not content with singing praise only during the day but spends the whole night in watchful song. Therefore, mastering the day by your praises, add your nightly activity to your toil and ease the sleepless labor of the work you have undertaken with a series of psalms. [. . .]

115. GELASIUS, POPE

Generally considered among the foremost popes of the fifth century, Gelasius, bishop of Rome from 492 to 496 and perhaps of African descent, was a strong advocate of the Roman See, teaching, for example, that even episcopal synods were subject to papal authority. He wrote or took other action against numerous heresies, and formulated the doctrine that religious

† Translated from CCL 23:306–7.

and civil power were both divinely instituted, the former, however, being of higher rank.

Many of this pope's letters or decretals, either completely or in part, have survived in addition to several theological tracts. However, the *Decretum Gelasianum de libris recipiendis et non recipiendis* as well as the *Gelasian Sacramentary*, once attributed to Gelasius, are no longer considered his.

CPL nos. 1667ff. * Altaner (1961) 551–52 * Altaner (1966) 462–63 * Bardenhewer (1908) 620–22 * Bardenhewer (1910) 535–36 * Bardenhewer (1913) 4:625–29 * Bautz 2:197–99 * Steidle 148–49 * CATH 4:1801–3 * CE 6:406 * DACL 13.1:1212 * DCB 2:617–20 * DDC 5:940–45 * DHGE 20:283–94 * DPAC 2:1440–41 * DTC 6.1:1179–80 * EC 5:1980–83 * EEC 1:339 * EEChr 1:455 * LTK 4:401–2 * NCE 6:315–16 * NCES 6:121–23 * ODCC 658 * PEA (1894) 7.1:966–68

B. Capelle, "Le 'Kyrie' de la messe et le pape Gélase," RB 46 (1934) 126–44; repr. in *Travaux liturgiques*, vol. 2 (Louvain, 1962) 116–34. * B. Capelle, "Le Pape Gélase et la messe romaine," RHE 35 (1939) 22–34; repr. in *Travaux liturgiques*, vol. 2 (Louvain, 1962) 135–45. * C. Callewaert, "Les étapes de l'histoire du 'Kyrie': S. Gélase, s. Benoît, s. Grégoire," RHE 38 (1942) 20–45. * B. Capelle, "Messes du pape S. Gélase dans le sacramentaire léonien," RB 56 (1945–46) 12–41; repr. in *Travaux liturgiques*, vol. 2 (Louvain, 1962) 19–115. * J. Brinktrine, "Der Vollzieher der Eucharistie nach dem Brief des Papstes Gelasius († 496) an den Bischof Elpidius von Volterra," in *Miscellanea Liturgica in Honorem L. Cuniberti Mohlberg*, vol. 2 (Rome, 1949) 61–69. * B. Capelle, "L'oeuvre liturgique de S. Gélase," JThSt 2 (1951) 129–44; repr. in *Travaux liturgiques*, vol. 2 (Louvain, 1962) 146–60. * B. Capelle, "Retouches Gélasiennes dans le sacramentaire léonien," RB 61 (1951) 129–44; repr. in *Travaux liturgiques*, vol. 2 (Louvain, 1962) 146–60. * C. Coebergh, "Le Pape Saint Gélase Ier autour de plusiers messes et préfaces du soi-disant sacramentaire léonien," SE 4 (1952) 46–102. * A.W.J. Holleman, *Pope Gelasius I and the Lupercalia* (Amsterdam, 1974). * P. De Clerck, *La "Prière Universelles" dans les liturgies latines anciennes*, LwQF 62 (1977) 166–87.

115-A. Letters

At least forty-three letters and numerous fragments of letters written by Gelasius have come down to us, a surprising number considering the relative brevity of his pontificate. Most deal with either heretical doctrines or practical matters of church discipline.

115-A-1. LETTER 14. TO ALL THE BISHOPS OF LUCANIA, BRUTIUS, AND SICILY[†]

2925 4. New basilicas are not to be dedicated unless the Holy See has granted its permission. [. . .]

2926 6. Presbyters are forbidden to exceed their boundaries. They are not to assume to themselves what belongs to the episcopal rank. They are not to

[†] Translated from *Epistolae Romanorum Pontificum*, ed. A. Thiel (Bamberg, 1868) 365ff.

confect the chrism; they are not to apply the signation given by the bishop. When a bishop is not present or unless enjoined to do so, they are not to presume permission to provide prayers or the sacred action. Nor when the bishop is present should the presbyter, unless otherwise instructed, presume to sit [before him?] or to carry out [*tractare*] the sacred mysteries. The presbyter is to remember that without the permission of the Holy See [*summo pontifice*] he has no authority to make deacons or acolytes. [. . .]

7. We also decree that deacons are to observe their proper limits. They 2927
are to do only what the ancient canons assign to them; their service is to include nothing that antiquity has properly assigned to the higher orders. Without the bishop or the priest they are not to baptize unless extreme necessity requires when the aforementioned ministers are far distant. Deacons may do what lay Christians commonly do.

8. Deacons are not to sit in the presbyterium at the time of the divine 2928
services or when church affairs are being discussed. They do not have the privilege of distributing the holy Body except when a bishop or presbyter is not present. [. . .]

10. The venerable sacrament of baptism is to be celebrated on the feast 2929
of the Pasch and on Pentecost. It is not to be transferred to any other day except at a time of serious illness, a time when there is a danger that the sick person may depart this life without this saving remedy.

11. Bishops are not to ordain presbyters and deacons except at certain 2930
seasons and on certain days: namely, during the feasts of the fourth, seventh, and tenth months; also at the beginning of Lent and on the middle Saturday [*mediana die*] of Lent, doing so after the Saturday fast and in the evening. [. . .]

12. As to virgins devoted to God, the holy veil is to be given on Epiph- 2931
any, during Eastertide, or on the feasts of the apostles. As is true for baptism, the exception concerns those requesting it when afflicted by a serious illness. In this case the veil is not to be denied so that they not depart this world without this gift.

26. It has disturbed us to hear that disrespect for sacred things has 2932
reached such a point that even women are allowed to serve [*ministrare*] at the sacred altars and that an incompetent sex deals with all that has been entrusted to the service of men only.

115-A-2. LETTER 37. TO MAJORIEUS AND JOHN†

11. We have learned, however, that some in the same region, having 2933
taken only a portion of the sacred Body, abstain from the Blood contained in the holy cup. Since I do not know which superstition[a] motivates them, they are either to receive the entire sacraments or are to refrain from them

† Translated from *Epistolae*, ed. A. Thiel, 451–52.

a. The Manichaeans?

altogether because it is not possible to divide one and the same mystery. Indeed to do so would make one guilty of a very great sacrilege. [. . .]

115-A-3. FRAGMENT 7. TO BISHOP ELPIDIUS OF VOLTERA†

2934 II. [. . .] For how [in the celebration of the divine mysteries] will the heavenly Spirit, who has been invoked, come to consecrate the divine mysteries if the priest, who prays that the Spirit be present, is in all respects guilty of sinful actions?

115-A-4. LETTER AGAINST THE LUPERCALIA††a

2935 IX. This is why after these blasphemies, professed openly and in public, you are to abstain completely from the sacred Body. In fact, you are not to participate at the table of the Lord and at the table of the demons. You are not to drink from the cup of the Lord and from the cup of demons.[1] You cannot be God's temple and that of the devil. Light and darkness cannot coexist in you. [. . .]

115-B. Tract on the Two Natures in Christ†††

This treatise, written against Eutyches and Nestorius, argues that Christ's human nature was not absorbed into his divine nature.

2936 XIV. To be sure, the sacraments we receive are the divine reality [*res*] because through them we share in the divine nature. However, the substance and nature of the bread and wine do not cease to be. Certainly the image and likeness of Christ's Body and Blood are celebrated in the action of the mysteries.

115-C. The "Deprecatio Gelasii"††††a

This litanic prayer, in the fifth century prayed toward the beginning of the Roman Mass, is generally attributed to Gelasius. Although different in construction, it supplicates for many of the same people mentioned in the Solemn Prayers found in the Roman Good Friday liturgy.

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† Translated from *Epistolae*, ed. A. Thiel, 486.

†† Translated from *Lettre contra les lupercales . . .*, ed. G. Pomarès, SChr 65 (Paris, 1959) 168–69.

a. This letter, written to the Roman senator Andromachus, disapproves of the Lupercalia, a pagan feast still celebrated in fifth-century Christian Rome on February 25.

1. See 1 Cor 10:20.

††† Translated from PLS 3:773.

†††† Translated from G.G. Willis, *Essays in Early Roman Liturgy*, Alcuin Club Collections 46 (London, 1964) 22–24.

a. The text within + + would have been sung by a schola, the people responding with the Greek *Kyrie eleison*.

a. Let all say: Lord, hear us and have mercy. 2937
b. For the faithful we call upon the Father of the Only-Begotten, and the Son of God who begets, and God the Holy Spirit.
Kyrie eleison.
1. For the stainless Church of the living God, the Church established throughout the whole world 2938
+ we request the riches of divine goodness. +
Kyrie eleison.
2. For the holy priests of the powerful God, for those who serve at the sacred altar, and for all who worship the true God 2939
+ we pray to Christ the Lord. +
Kyrie eleison.
3. For all who rightly preach the word of truth 2940
+ we especially request the diverse wisdom of God's word. +
Kyrie eleison.
4. For those who live chastely in mind and body for the kingdom of God and who engage in spiritual labor 2941
+ we request abundant spiritual gifts. +
Kyrie eleison.
5. For pious rulers and all their attendants, who love justice and right judgment 2942
+ we implore the power of the Lord. +
Kyrie eleison.
6. For agreeable weather, for suitable rain, for gentle and refreshing winds, and for a favorable change of the seasons 2943
+ we entreat the Lord, the ruler of the world. +
Kyrie eleison.
7. For those who have begun to learn what it means to bear the Christian name, those whom the desire for heavenly grace already inflames 2944
+ we implore the mercy of the omnipotent God. +
Kyrie eleison.
8. For those afflicted by the weakness of human infirmity and for those engulfed by a desire for spiritual evil or by the various errors of the world 2945
+ we beseech the mercy of our Redeemer. +
Kyrie eleison.
9. For those disquieted by the necessity of traveling and for those oppressed by the power of evil or hostility 2946
+ we pray to our Lord and Savior. +
Kyrie eleison.
10. For * * * Jewish deception or by heretical perversity, for those steeped in pagan superstition 2947

* * * It seems that a word is missing here.

+ we entreat the Lord of truth. +
Kyrie eleison.

2948 11. For those engaged in godly works and for all who by fraternal love assist those suffering hardships
+ we entreat the Lord of mercies. +
Kyrie eleison.

2949 12. For all who enter these halls of the Lord's holy house, that they may assemble with pious hearts and suppliant devotion
+ we entreat the Lord of glory. +
Kyrie eleison.

2950 13. For the cleansing of our souls and bodies and for the forgiveness of all sins
+ we pray to the most loving Lord. +
Kyrie eleison.

2951 14. For the souls of the faithful departed, especially the souls of the Lord's holy priests who here presided over the Catholic Church, that they may obtain rest
+ we entreat the Lord of spirits and the judge of all flesh. +
Kyrie eleison.

2952 15. A body that brings death to vices and a soul alive with faith
+ Grant us, O Lord, grant us. +

2953 16. Chaste fear and true love
+ Grant us, O Lord, grant us. +

2954 17. A pleasing way of life and a happy death
+ Grant us, O Lord, grant us. +

2955 18. The angel of peace and the consolation of the saints
+ Grant us, O Lord, grant us. +

Ourselves and all we have, all that through the Lord comes to be and matures—
these we receive, for he is their source;
these we hold fast since he is their guardian;
these we commend to his merciful and provident judgment.
Lord, have mercy.

115-D. Tract "Ne Forte" on the Bond of the Anathema†

The Novatians, refusing to grant reconciliation to those guilty of serious sin, appealed to Matthew 12:32 to support their practice. In this theological treatise Gelasius refutes the Novatian position.

2956 [. . .] We must understand what the beloved apostle John said: "There is a sin unto death. I do not say that one should pray for this. And there is a sin not unto death. I do say that one should pray for this."[1] There is a sin

† Translated from PL 59:105.

1. 1 John 5:16, 17.

unto death for those who remain in the same sin. There is a sin not unto death for those who leave behind this sin. Certainly there is no sin for which either the Church does not beg forgiveness or from which it cannot by the divine power given it loose those doing penance. To the Church it was said, "Whatsoever you loose upon earth will be loosed in heaven; and whatsoever you bind upon earth will be bound in heaven."[2] All sins are included in the "whatsoever," no matter how numerous they may be, no matter how great they may be. Nonetheless, the statement remains true: those who continue to sin will not be loosed [from their sins]. [. . .]

116. SYNODS

116-A. Synod of Rome (ca. 400?)[†]

A series of canons, drafted by a Roman synod in answer to questions posed by the Gallican bishops, has come down to us under the title of *Canones ad Gallos Episcopos*. The document's date remains uncertain, being placed as late as the pontificate of Innocent I (401–17) and as early as that of Damasus (366–84).

Hefele (1905) 2.1:136–37 * Hefele (1871) 2:428–30 * DPAC 2:3024

C.Chr. Babut, *La plus ancienne décrétale* (Paris, 1904).

Canon 10. At Easter time the presbyter and the deacon are accustomed to grant the forgiveness of sins throughout the parishes, even when a bishop is present. Serving him, they go down into the font but everything is done in his name. At other times when the demands of illness require each one to follow [a different procedure?], the presbyter especially is allowed to grant the remission of sins through the grace of the saving water because he can offer this benefit for the sake of cleansing. However, no permission to do this is given to the deacon; but what was once done—said to be excused by reason of necessity—is not to be repeated afterwards as if it were lawful. 2957

Canon 11. As to whether the exorcised oil should be conferred on just a few days or on many days,[a] this is of less concern than is the meaning of the oil. Who will be cleansed by the sufficiency of one's own faith? Just as chrism poured upon the head[b] imparts its grace to the whole body, likewise whoever is scrutinized at the third scrutiny is touched with the oil only once, not often, and so God acts upon that person's whole life. 2958

2. Matt 18:18.

† Canons translated from Mansi 3:1137.

a. See Mâcon II (585) can. 3 (WEC 4:4653).

b. See Elvira (ca. 300) can. 77 (WEC 2:1294); Laodicea (between 343 and 381) can. 48 (WEC 2:1994); Toledo I (400?) can. 20 (WEC 3:3172); Orange I (441) can. 2 (WEC 3:3124); Braga II (572) can. 4 (WEC 4:4757).

116-B. Synod of Rome (488)†

The Church in Africa was persecuted at the hands of the Arian Vandals under King Hunneric. When hostilities ceased in 484, the question arose of how to reconcile those who compromised the faith or were forcibly rebaptized by the heretics. A Roman synod in 488, consisting of thirty-eight bishops under the presidency of Pope Felix III (483–92), established a procedure for readmission. The regulations were subsequently published in a synodal letter, which is contained in a collection of this pontiff's writings.

Hefele (1905) 2.2:934–35 * Hefele (1871) 4:38–41 * DCA 2:1815 * DPAC 2:3024

Letter 7

2959 Canon 3. As to clerics and monks, God's virgins and the laity, we decree that what the Synod of Nicaea determined should be followed regarding those who lapsed or were about to do so, those who without any necessity or fear or danger impiously handed themselves over to the heretics to be baptized. If they wholeheartedly repent, they are to spend three years among the hearers; for seven years they are to be among the penitents where they will receive the imposition of the priest's hands; for two years they will not present any offerings, but they can join the laity in prayer only.[a] May those who had no fear of denying God have no problems with bending their necks before God. Since we are mortal and if the time of death should occur within the boundary of the present time, help is to be given to those requesting it; Viaticum is not to be denied to those asking for it, either by the bishop who imposed the penance, by someone who has proof that penance was imposed, or by a presbyter.[b]

117. INSCRIPTION. LATERAN BAPTISTERY††

In the fifth century the baptistery at the Lateran Basilica was renovated under Pope Sixtus III (432–40), a project containing the following inscription.

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† Canon translated from PL 58:925–26.

a. See Elvira (ca. 300) can. 1 (WEC 2:1270); Ancyra (314) cans. 1–12 (WEC 2:1422–30); Nicaea I (325) cans. 8, 11, 14 (WEC 2:1449, 1451, 1454); Valence (374) can. 3 (WEC 2:1225); Arles II (between 442 and 506) cans. 10–11 (WEC 3:3141–42); Epaon (517) can. 29 (WEC 4:4584).

b. See Elvira (ca. 300) cans. 1, 6, 7, 37, 47 (WEC 2:1270–72, 1284, 1290); Ancyra (314) cans. 16, 22 (WEC 2:1432, 1435); Nicaea I (325) can. 13 (WEC 2:1453); *Statuta* (5th c.) cans. 20–21 (WEC 3:3077–78); Orange I (441) can. 3 (WEC 3:3125); Vaison (442) can. 2 (WEC 3:3137); Arles II (between 442 and 506) can. 28 (WEC 3:3149); Agde (506) can. 15 (WEC 4:4552); Epaon (517) can. 36 (WEC 4:4587); Orleans III (538) cans. 6, 28 (WEC 4:4605, 4609); *Capitula Martini* (after 561) can. 82 (WEC 4:4699); Gerunda (517) can. 9 (WEC 4:4722); Barcelona I (ca. 540) can. 9 (WEC 4:4732).

†† Translation from P.A. Underwood, "The Fountain of Life in Manuscripts of the Gospels," in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 5 (Cambridge, MA, 1950) 55; as reprinted

The city, a people to be consecrated, 2960
here springs into being from fruitful seed:
which the Spirit brings forth from impregnated waters.
Be dipped in the sacred stream, O sinner called to purity:
whom the water will receive old, but bring forth new.
There is no distinction among those born again,
whom one font, one Spirit, one faith make one.
From her virginal womb Mother Church gives birth in the stream to her children,
whom she conceives through the breath of God.
Wouldst thou be pure, cleanse thyself in this bath
whether thou art oppressed by original sin or by thine own guilt.
This is the fountain of life, which purges the whole world,
taking its course from the wound of Christ.
Hope for the Kingdom of Heaven, ye who are reborn in this font;
the blessed life does not accept those who are born only once.
Let not the number or the kind of his sins frighten anyone;
born of this stream he will be holy.

GAUL

118. JOHN CASSIAN

John Cassian, certainly among the most notable writers of early fifth-century Gaul, was born ca. 360 in the Roman province of Scythia Minor (modern Dobrudgia, on the Black Sea, in Romania). While still a youth he went to Bethlehem, where he became a member of a monastic community. With his good friend, Germanus, he then set off ca. 385 for Egypt to study that area's monastic practices, visiting various religious centers, e.g., the monks at Scetis. We find him in Constantinople ca. 404, where he was ordained a deacon by John Chrysostom (WEC 2:74). He journeyed to Rome with a letter pleading for Pope Innocent I's (WEC 3:108) intervention on behalf of Chrysostom, who was being persecuted at that time. Ordained a priest in Rome, Cassian became friends with the future Pope Leo I (WEC 3:113).

Taking up residence in Marseilles ca. 415, he established two monasteries, one for men (Saint Victor), the other for women (Saint Salvator). Cassian, who died between 430 and 435, is venerated as a saint in the East as well as in the city of Marseilles.

CPL nos. 512ff. * Altaner (1961) 537–40 * Altaner (1966) 452–54 * Bardenhewer (1908) 515–18 * Bardenhewer (1913) 4:558–65 * Bardy (1930) 162–63 * Bautz 1:951–53 * Hamell 158 * Jurgens 3:197–201 * Labriolle (1947) 2:645–49 * Labriolle (1968)

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in S.A. Stauffer, *On Baptismal Fonts: Ancient and Modern*, Alcuin/GROW Liturgical Study 29–30 (Bramcote, Nottingham, 1994) 20.

423–24 * Quasten 4:512–23 * Steidle 191–92 * Tixeront 272–74 * CATH 2:616–17 * CE 3:404–5 * CHECL 378–79 * DACL 2.2:2348–57 * DCB 1:414–16 * DHGE 11:1319–48, 26:1082–84 * DictSp 2:214–76 * DPAC 1:614–16 * DTC 2.2:1823–29 * EC 3:1001–4 * EEC 1:149 * EEChr 1:219 * LTK 5:1016–17 * NCE 3:181–83 * NCES 3:205–96 * ODCC 295 * PEA (1894) 3.2:1668–69 * PEA (1991) 2.1003–4 * TRE 7:650–57

O. Heiming, "Zum monastischen Offizium von Kassianus bis Kolumbanus," ALW 7 (1961–62) 89–156. * J. Mateos, "L'office monastique à la fin du IVe siècle," OC 47 (1963) 53–86. * O. Rousseau, "La prière des moines au temps de Jean Cassien," in *La prière des heures*, ed. E. Cassien and B. Botte, LO 35 (Paris, 1963) 117–38. * M. Ruiz Jurando, "La penitencia en los Padres del desierto según Cassiano," *Manresa* 35 (1963) 187–202. * M.J. Jennett, "A Descriptive Presentation on John Cassian and His Treatise on Prayer: The Relationship of Virtue and Prayer," diss. (Rome, 1981). * R. Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West: The Origins of the Divine Office and Its Meaning for Today* (Collegeville, 1986) 62–63, 76–77, 95–101, 193–204, 207–9.

118-A. Conferences†

Shortly after 420 Cassian began a work containing a series of twenty-four conferences (the *Collationes Patrum*) or conversations drafted in question and answer form with certain distinguished solitaires and in a sequence following his own travels in Egypt. If his *Institutes* focus on external observance, the *Conferences* discuss the inner life of the monk. *Conference XIII* is noted for Cassian's explanation, against Augustine, of the interaction between grace and free will, the former's position later becoming known as Semipelagianism.

2961 X.II. In Egypt we find an ancient tradition. After the Epiphany which, according to the priests there, is the anniversary both of the Lord's baptism as well as of his birth in the flesh—this being why such a double mystery is not for them, as in the West, the object of two different solemnities but of only one and the same feast—the bishop of Alexandria sends letters to all the churches of the area, to the cities and monasteries, so that everyone will know the date when Lent begins and thus when Easter is celebrated.

2962 XX.VIII. Other than the grace of baptism, other than the very precious gift of martyrdom which is obtained by the shedding of blood, there are still numerous fruits of penance that can obtain for us the remission of sins. In fact, eternal salvation is not only promised to those who do penance [in the canonical sense of the word] and of whom the blessed Apostle Paul speaks, "Do penance, convert so that your sins may be removed,"[1] as well as John the Baptist and the Lord himself: "Do penance, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand."[2]

† Translated from *Conferences*, vol. 2, ed. E. Pichery, SChr 54 (Paris, 1958) 75ff.; vol. 3, SChr 64 (Paris, 1959) 167–68.

1. Acts 3:19. 2. Matt 3:2.

Charity also overcomes the weight of our sins: "Love covers a multitude of sins."[3] 2963

Likewise, almsgiving is a remedy for our sins since "just as water extinguishes fire, so almsgiving washes away sins."[4] 2964

Similarly, abundant tears obtain the purification of sins: "Each night I wash my bed, with my tears I water my couch."[5] Then the psalmist adds to show that he does not weep in vain: "Depart from me all you evildoers, for the Lord has heard the voice of my weeping."[6] 2965

Also, absolution is granted when sins are confessed: "I said that I will confess my sin, and you, Lord, will absolve the iniquity of my heart."[7] Also, "Declare your sin first so that you may be justified."[8] 2966

Affliction of the heart and body also obtains the remission of the sins we have committed, for it is written, "Look upon my lowliness and my labor, and forgive me all my sins."[9] 2967

Amending one's life also obtains the remission of sins: "Remove your evil from my sight! Cease doing evil! Learn to do good; seek what is just; assist the oppressed; show justice to the orphan; defend the widow. Come, then, and discuss, says the Lord. Though your sins were as scarlet, they will be as white as snow; though they were as red as crimson, they will become as white as wool."[10] 2968

Sometimes our sins are forgiven through the intercession of the saints: "If you see a brother or sister committing a sin that is not unto death, you will ask and give such a one life."[11] Also, "Are any among you sick? Let them call the elders of the Church and have them pray over them, anointing them with oil in the name of the Lord. The prayer of faith will save the sick, and the Lord will raise them up. If any have committed sins, they will be forgiven them."[12] 2969

At times it is by the gift of charity and faith that the stains of sin are washed away: "By mercy and faith sins are removed."[13] 2970

By converting our neighbor and by leading our neighbor to salvation through our warnings and exhortations, we also merit pardon: "Those who bring back sinners from their sins will save their own soul from death and will cover over a multitude of sins."[14] 2971

Last, it is by forgiving and forgetting the wrongs done to us that we will obtain the forgiveness of our sins: "Indeed, if you forgive others their trespasses, the heavenly Father will also pardon you."[15] 2972

And so you see, then, how great an access to the Lord's compassion has been opened to us for forgiveness so that no sinner, desiring salvation, will give in to despair since so many remedies call us to life. 2973

XXI.XIX. Germanus: Why do we relax the severity of our fast during the Fifty Days [namely, the Easter season] by taking our meal in the middle of 2974

3. 1 Pet 4:8. 4. Sir 3:29. 5. Ps 6:7. 6. Ps 6:9. 7. Ps 32:5. 8. Isa 43:26. 9. Ps 25:18. 10. Isa 1:16–18. 11. 1 John 5:16. 12. Jas 5:14–15. 13. Prov 15:27, LXX. 14. Jas 5:20. 15. Matt 6:14.

the day whereas the Lord, after his resurrection, only remained forty days with his disciples?

2975 XXI.xx. Your question is pertinent and deserves to be answered fully. After our Savior's ascension, which occurred forty days after his resurrection, the apostles were returning from the Mount of Olives. It was here that they were allowed to see him ascending to his Father as the Book of Acts relates. Returning to Jerusalem, for ten days they awaited the coming of the Holy Spirit. Afterwards, namely on the fiftieth day, they received the Spirit with joy. And so the number made holy by the present feast was evidently completed.

2976 We see the same prefigured in the Old Testament. When seven weeks had gone by, the priests were to offer the bread of the first fruits to the Lord. But this bread of the first fruits was surely offered to God by the preaching of the apostles to the crowd on this day; this was the bread of the new doctrine that nourished and abundantly satisfied five thousand people and consecrated the Christian people to the Lord as the first fruits taken from among the Jews.

2977 For this reason these ten days should be united with the first forty and celebrated with the same solemnity and with equal joy. The tradition of this feast has been handed down to us by the Christians of the apostolic age. Our task is to remain faithful, changing nothing. And so we do not prostrate or kneel for prayer during these days, such postures being those of penance and sorrow. In this way it can also be seen that we accord the very same solemnity to Sunday, the day on which our elders instructed us neither to fast nor to kneel, thereby showing honor to the Lord's resurrection.

2978 XXVIII.xxi. Although we acknowledge our sinfulness, still we should not refrain from receiving the Lord in Communion. With more and more eagerness we should hasten to Communion so as to heal our souls and purify our spirits, seeking rather a remedy for our wounds with humility of mind and faith, and yet considering ourselves unworthy to receive such a great grace. Otherwise, we cannot worthily receive Communion even once a year as do certain monks who so regard the dignity, holiness, and value of the heavenly sacraments as to think that only saints and sinless ones should venture to receive them. They do not believe that the sacraments make us holy and pure by our sharing in them. And so when they finally do receive the sacraments, they consider themselves to be worthy of them; thus their presumption and arrogance are greater than what they desire to avoid. It is much better to receive Communion every Sunday to heal our infirmities, doing so with that humility of heart whereby we believe and confess that we can never touch those holy mysteries worthily. It is better to receive every Sunday rather than be puffed up by a foolish persuasion of the heart and believe that only at year's end are we worthy to receive the sacraments. [. . .]

118-B. The Institutes†

The *De institutis coenobiorum et de octo principalium vitiorum remediis*, written in Marseilles at the request of Castor, bishop of Apt, details various rules for living the monastic life and for overcoming various vices that might befall the monk. Relying on memory (not always perfect) and personal experience, Cassian explains in twelve books the ascetical and prayer practices of the Egyptian monks (Book II) as well as the day office celebrated in the various monasteries located in Bethlehem and Mesopotamia (Book III). He does so not as an intellectual exercise but to influence monasticism in Gaul.

II.11. Difference among the provinces in the number of psalms assigned to be sung

1. We have learned that many of the monks in other regions, possessing as the apostle says, "zeal for God but not enlightenment,"[1] have on this point laid down for themselves various rules and regulations as they so desired. Some, in fact, believed that each night twenty or thirty psalms should be said,[a] and these are even to be prolonged by antiphonal singing[b] and by adding certain tropes. Others have even sought to exceed this, whereas still others have only eighteen psalms. We know that in this matter different places have different canons; we have seen adopted almost as many types of rules as the monasteries or cells we have visited. 2979

2. Some have even deemed it proper that during the daily office of prayer—namely, Terce, Sext, and None—the number of psalms and prayers must correspond to the hours at which this praise is offered to God. Still others have applied the number "six" [psalms] to each gathering during the day. 2980

This is why I believe it is necessary to make known what has been established by the elders and what is still observed by God's servants throughout Egypt so that this new monastery, still a novice in Christ, may in its infancy be led by the oldest institutions of the earliest fathers. 2981

II.111. Observing one uniform rule throughout all Egypt [. . .]

In all Egypt and Thebaid[c] where monasteries are ruled not by the fantasy of any person who renounces the world but rather continue on or are 2982

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† Translated from *De institutis coenobiorum* . . ., ed. J.-C. Guy, SChr 109 (Paris, 2001) 58ff. Subheadings based on those in LNPF 11, ser. 2, 295ff.

a. Here and in other instances the words *dicitur* or *psallitur* do not necessarily mean "said" or "recited" in our sense of the terms. They can also mean "sung" or "chanted."

b. For the nature of antiphonal singing, see R. Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West: The Origins of the Divine Office and Its Meaning for Today* (Collegeville, 1986) 151.

c. The district around Thebes in Egypt.

1. Rom 10:2.

meant to do so up to the present through what has been handed down from the elders—in these we see a determined number of prayers during the evening gatherings and the night vigils. [. . .]

II.IV. Why twelve psalms have been determined throughout Egypt and the Thebaid

2983 As we said, throughout Egypt and the Thebaid there are twelve psalms at both the evening and the night celebrations so that two lessons follow, one from the Old Testament, the other from the New Testament. This number, established of old, has lasted for so many centuries right up to the present time in all the monasteries of these provinces because it is said that the elders did not determine this number by any human device but that it was handed down from heaven to our elders through the ministry of an angel.

II.V. How the number of twelve psalms was received from the teaching of an angel

2984 1. In the early days of the faith only a few yet strongly tested individuals were known as monks. They received the rule of life from the evangelist Mark of happy memory, the first bishop of the city of Alexandria. [. . .]

2985 3. [. . .] At that time when the perfection of the primitive Church remained inviolate among their successors, its memory still being fresh, and when the fervent faith of a few had not yet grown tepid by spreading into the multitude, the venerable fathers, carefully watching over their successors, came together in order to provide for daily worship throughout all the fraternity. Thus they intended to extend to those coming after them this heritage of piety and of peace, free from all internal dispute. Their fear, in fact, was that in the daily celebrations a dissonance or a variety among those professing the same worship would in the future bring forth the seed of error, of rivalry, or of schism.

2986 4. But then each—according to his personal fervor and disregarding the weakness of others—believed it necessary to establish a number that he judged very easy according to his own faith and strength, with no consideration being given to what was possible as a general rule for all the brothers; among these many weaknesses were inevitably found. They vied with one another in determining a very large number of psalms, different according to each one's spiritual strength: fifty psalms according to some, sixty psalms according to others. There were even those who were not happy with this number and wanted it increased. The holy diversity hindering them from establishing the rule of piety was such that while they were discussing this question, the time for the evening celebration arrived. Since they desired to celebrate this daily service of prayer, someone rose to stand in their midst in order to chant psalms to the Lord.

2987 5. All remained seated—as is still customary in Egypt today—with their close attention focused on what the cantor was singing. When he finished

singing eleven psalms—the verses uninterruptibly and uniformly following one another and with a prayer after each psalm—he concluded the twelfth psalm with its Alleluia response and suddenly departed from the view of all, thus putting an end to this question concerning the ceremonies.

II.VI. The custom of having twelve prayers

And so, understanding that by means of the angel's teaching the Lord 2988
wished to establish a general rule for the gatherings of the brothers, the venerable assembly of the fathers decided that this number would be observed during both the evening and the night offices. To these psalms they joined two lessons, one from the Old Testament and the other from the New Testament, adding them as their personal bequest and as something extra only for those who desired them and who applied themselves in assiduous meditation to retain the memory of the divine Scriptures. Yet on Saturday and Sunday the lessons are from the New Testament, the first from the Apostle or the Acts of the Apostles, the second from the Gospels. Throughout the whole season of Pentecost this is also the custom of all who are devoted to reading and memorizing the Scriptures.

II.VII. Their method of praying

1. The above-mentioned prayers are begun and concluded as follows: 2989
when a psalm has been completed, they are in no hurry to kneel as some are in our region who, even before the psalm is concluded, hasten to prostrate themselves for prayer, striving to reach as quickly as possible the dismissal. Although we desire to surpass the number formerly determined by our predecessors, supplying the number of psalms that still remain, we move quickly to reach the end of the service, more desirous to refresh our tired bodies than to reap advantage and benefit from our prayer.

2. Among them this is not the case. Before kneeling, they pray for a little 2990
while and spend the greater part of the time standing and making supplication. Then very briefly prostrating themselves on the ground as if to adore only the divine goodness, they immediately rise, standing with outstretched hands in the same way that they first prayed standing, and they prolong their prayer. They say that whoever remains prostrate for a long period of time is more dangerously attacked, not only by thought but also by sleep.

3. [. . .] When he who is to conclude the prayer rises, all get up at the 2991
same time so that no one dares kneel before he has bowed down nor remains prostrate once the leader has risen lest the impression is given that one has concluded the prayer by himself rather than by following the leader.

II.VIII. The prayer that follows the psalm

As to what occurs in this province—namely, one person chants, all rise 2992
for the conclusion of the psalm and together chant aloud, "Glory to the

Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit"—we have never seen this anywhere in the East. Rather, in the East, once the cantor has completed the psalm, the prayer follows in complete silence; only the antiphonal psalms are customarily concluded by giving glory to the Trinity in this way.

II.x. The silence and conciseness whereby the Egyptians conclude the prayers

2993 When the monks gather to observe the above-mentioned celebrations—these are called "synaxes"—each keeps so great a silence that, despite the large number of brothers who have gathered, one would believe that absolutely no one was present other than he who stands up to chant the psalm in the midst of the others. This is even more true for the final prayer during which there is no spitting, no clearing of the throat, no coughing, no yawning, no open mouths, no gaping. There is no groaning or sighing to disturb those who are close by. The only voice heard is that of the priest concluding the prayer. [. . .]

II.xi. The system used by the Egyptians in saying the psalms

2994 1. As to the psalms they chant in their assemblies, they do not attempt to render these as a continuous whole; rather, according to the number of verses, they proceed straight through, dividing the psalm into two or three parts with prayers between each section. In fact, they care nothing about the number of verses, only about their spiritual meaning, and with all their strength they obey these words, "I will sing with the spirit, I will also sing with understanding."[2]

2995 2. Therefore they judge it preferable to sing ten verses with careful understanding rather than to say a complete psalm with a confused understanding. At times this is caused by the haste of the cantor who, thinking about the length and number of psalms that remain to be sung, fails to make the psalm's meaning clear to his listeners as he hastens to conclude the synaxis.

2996 Finally, should any of the young monks, whether through spiritual fervor or through lack of knowledge, begin to exceed the number of psalms that are to be sung, an older monk will intervene by striking his hand on the bench upon which he is sitting, thus signalling that all are to rise for prayer. Attentive care is to be taken that none of those assisting become weary due to the undue length of the psalmody. For not only the cantor thus loses for himself a fruitful understanding of the psalm but by going on so long he also harms others by causing them to tire of the synaxis.

2997 3. Great care is taken that no psalm is given an Alleluia response except those whose titles mention the Alleluia.

II.xii. Why all sit when the cantor sings the psalms; the zeal with which all prolong the vigils in their cells

2. 1 Cor 14:15.

1. This canonical number of twelve psalms is lightened by adopting a relaxed position of the body. Thus it is customary during these community celebrations that, except for he who stands and says the psalms in the midst of the assembly, all sit on very low benches and attentively follow the cantor's voice. They are so exhausted by fasting and by working throughout the day and night that if they were not assisted in this way, they could not possibly endure till the end of the synaxis. 2998

3. When the regular office is finished in its customary way, each returns to his own cell or to a cell he shares with another, either a co-worker or a colleague in formation or someone equal in virtue. There they again celebrate, and more attentively, the same office of prayers, doing so as one's personal sacrifice; from then on all remain awake till dawn when the day's activity succeeds the work and meditation of the night. 2999

II.XVII. The monk who rouses for prayer is to call them at the accustomed time

The monk who has been entrusted with the task of rousing the brothers for the daily vigils is not to do so at any time he so pleases, or because he himself happens to wake up in the middle of the night, or because he cannot fall asleep. But even if long-standing habit has him wake up at a fitting hour, yet by often and attentively determining—through the movement of the stars—the time appointed for the assembly, he is to summon the brothers to the daily vigils. Failing to do so, he is careless in one of two ways: either yielding to sleep, he allows the appointed hour of the night to slip by; or else he anticipates this hour in order to go back to bed earlier, thus attending to his own rest rather than serving the spiritual benefit and tranquility of others. 3000

II.XVIII. Why kneeling is not permitted from Saturday evening to Sunday evening

We should also know this: the Egyptians do not kneel from Saturday evening, namely, Sunday's vigil, till the following evening; the same applies to the whole season of Pentecost when the rule of fasting is not observed. We will explain, the Lord willing, the reason for this in the Conferences of the Fathers.[d] For now, our intention is only to rapidly mention the subject. Otherwise, this volume would exceed a reasonable length, thereby burdening the reader with aversion and weariness. 3001

III.I. Services at the third, sixth, and ninth hours as observed in the regions of Syria

I believe that the night offices of prayers and psalms as observed in Egypt have, with God's help, been explained, at least as far as the weakness of our spirit has allowed. Now, as said in the Prologue, we must treat the celebrations of Terce, Sext, and None as observed by the monasteries 3002

d. See *Conference XXI* (WEC 3:2974–77).

of Palestine and Mesopotamia whose rules temper the perfection as well as the rigorous and inimitable discipline of the Egyptians.

III.II. How the Egyptians pass the whole day in prayer and psalmody—adding work and yet not distinguishing the hours

3003 As to the offices that we are bound by the instruction of the provoker [angel?] to carry out for the Lord at separate hours and intervals, the Egyptians celebrate these continuously throughout the day with work being added to them. Each in his cell continuously works with his hands, yet never failing to meditate on the psalms and on the other Scriptures. At every moment they mingle prayers and orations with this meditation, thus spending the whole day in the offices we celebrate at particular times. This is why, except for the gathering in the evening and at night, they have no community celebration during the day except on Saturday and Sunday when they gather at the third hour to receive Holy Communion. In fact, what is offered without interruption has more value than what takes place at a set time, a voluntary gift being more pleasing than duties commanded by a rule. David rejoiced at this as something more glorious when he said, "Willingly I will offer sacrifice to you."[3] Also, "Voluntary blessings from my mouth praise you, O Lord."[4]

III.III. Why throughout the East the offices of Terce, Sext, and None each conclude with only three psalms and prayers; why these spiritual offices are especially assigned to these hours

3004 1. In the monasteries of Palestine, Mesopotamia, and in all the East, the celebration of the above-mentioned hours is each day limited to three psalms so that, by offering to God at fixed times a constant prayer, a correct balance whereby spiritual homage is given does not prevent necessary work from being done. We know, in fact, that at these three times Daniel the prophet, in his chamber and with its windows open, each day addressed prayers to God.[5] It is not without reason that these moments are more especially consecrated to religious tasks since the perfection of the promise and the consummation of our salvation took place at this time.

3005 2. At the third hour the Holy Spirit, promised beforehand by the prophets, first descended upon the apostles gathered for prayer. In fact, when the unbelieving Jews were amazed at the gift the apostles had received through the outpouring of the Holy Spirit which allowed them to speak all languages, and mockingly said that they were full of wine, Peter stood up in their midst and said, "Men of Israel and all who live in Jerusalem, know this and hear what I have to say. These men are not drunk as you believe since it is only the third hour of the day; but this is what was spoken of by the prophet Joel: 'And in these last days,' says the Lord, 'I will spread my Spirit over all flesh, and your sons and daughters will

3. Ps 54:6. 4. Ps 119:108. 5. See Dan 6:11.

utter prophecies, your youth will see visions, and your elders will dream dreams; and truly upon my male and female servants during these days I will pour out my Spirit and they will utter prophecies.'"[6]

3. We see that all this took place at the third hour, the very hour when 3006
the Holy Spirit, announced by the prophets, descended upon the apostles.

At the sixth hour our Lord and Savior, the unblemished victim, offered 3007
himself to the Father; by ascending the cross for the salvation of the whole world he remitted the sins of the human race. "Despoiling the rulers and the authorities, he led them away openly."[7] He freed all of us, guilty and enslaved by the debt of a written record that could not be paid,[8] suppressing this debt by nailing it on the trophy of his cross.

4. It was also at the same hour that to Peter, in a delight of the spirit, 3008
was revealed the calling of the nations which was signified in the Gospel by the "container" that came down from heaven; also by the purification of all the animals that were found therein, a divine voice telling him, "Peter, get up, kill, and eat. The sheet that was dropped down by its four corners"[9] surely, as we know, stands for nothing other than the Gospel. [. . .]

Penetrating hell at the ninth hour, by the brilliance of his splendor he 3009
destroyed the thick darkness of hell; he broke its bronze gates; he opened its iron locks; he had rise with him to the heavens the holy ones who were held captive in the darkness of this cruel hell; he suppressed the fiery sword and restored to Paradise its original inhabitants, thus witnessing his goodness.

7. At the same hour Cornelius, the centurion, with his prayers and ac- 3010
customed devotion, learned from the angel's mouth that the Lord was mindful of his prayers and almsgiving;[10] and at the ninth hour the mystery of the calling of the nations was made known to him, something revealed to Peter in an ecstasy of the spirit at the sixth hour. In another passage of the Acts of the Apostles we read concerning the same hour, "Peter and John went up to the temple to pray at the ninth hour."[11]

8. All this clearly proves that these hours, rightly consecrated to reli- 3011
gious service by holy and apostolic men, should likewise be observed by us. Unless we are, as it were, compelled by some law to carry out these acts of piety at least at specified times, then, either due to forgetfulness or indifference, we would be so engrossed in our daily affairs that we would simply fail to pray at all.

What are we to say about the evening sacrifices whose offering is con- 3012
stantly prescribed even in the Old Testament by the Mosaic Law?

9. In fact, that the morning holocausts and the evening sacrifices were, 3013
although as figurative offerings, offered each day in the temple can be proven by the words of David, "May my prayer rise before you like

6. Acts 2:14–18; Joel 2:28. 7. Col 2:15. 8. See Col 2:14. 9. Acts 10:13, 11. 10. Acts 10:3–4. 11. Acts 3:1.

incense, may the lifting up of my hands be like an evening sacrifice."[12] We can understand this more spiritually, namely, as also referring to the true evening sacrifice, either as the sacrifice that the Lord and Savior in the evening taught to his apostles at the Supper when he instituted the most holy mysteries of the Church, or as the sacrifice he offered to the Father on the next day, the evening sacrifice, namely, a sacrifice at the end of the ages when he lifted up his hands for the salvation of the whole world.

3014 10. It is correct to call his gesture of extending his hands on the cross a "lifting up" since, as he promised, he raised to heaven all of us who were lying in hell: "When I am lifted up from the earth, I will draw all things to myself."[13]

3015 As to the morning celebration, we are instructed concerning it since each day we customarily sing, "God, my God, at the break of day I look to you."[14] And, "I will meditate on you in the morning."[15] Also, "I prevented the dawning of the day and cried."[16] Also, "My eyes are awake before each watch of the night that I might meditate on your words."[17]

3016 11. It was also at this hour that the householder in the Gospel enlisted workers for the vineyard. In fact, we read that he signed them up early in the morning—a time signifying our morning celebration—and then at the third, the sixth, the ninth, and finally at the eleventh hours, the latter hour being that for the *lucernarium.*

III.IV. The morning office: not established by ancient tradition but begun at our own time for a definite reason

3017 1. You should know that Matins, which at present is especially observed in the West, was initially instituted as a canonical office during our own time and in our own monastery [in Bethlehem] where our Lord Jesus Christ, born of the Virgin, deigned to become an infant and where he confirmed by his grace our first beginnings in religion. Up to that time, in fact, we find that this morning celebration—which in the monasteries of Gaul was customarily celebrated shortly after completing the psalms and prayers of the night—was concluded [in Bethlehem] at the same time as the daily vigils, the remaining hours being left by our elders to bodily rest.

3018 2. But some, being more negligent and abusing this freedom, unduly prolonged their time for sleep since no gathering forced them to leave their cells or to get out of bed before the third hour. To the detriment of their work and due to an excess of sleep, they were still drowsy at the hour when it was necessary to apply themselves to certain offices, especially on days when keeping watch from evening to dawn resulted in greater weariness. Some of the brothers, fervent in spirit, found such negligence to be disturbing. The matter was referred to the elders who, after long discussion and upon requesting advice, decided that up to sunrise, when reading or

12. Ps 141:2. 13. John 12:32. 14. Ps 63:2, Vulgate. 15. Ps 63:7, Vulgate. 16. Ps 119:147. 17. Ps 119:148.

manual labor could be done without harm, time for rest should be granted to weary bodies. Then, summoned to this pious task, all would rise from bed and after the celebration of three psalms and prayers—similar to that formerly appointed for Terce and Sext, signifying praise to the Trinity—they would cease sleeping and together begin their labor.

3. Even though this system appears to have been invented because of 3019
circumstances and is a recent regulation for the reason we have just given, it most evidently makes up the number spoken of by blessed David—although it also has spiritual meaning: "Seven times a day have I proclaimed your praise because of your just judgments."[18] In fact, by adding this celebration and by having seven spiritual gatherings for prayer each day, we prove without any doubt that we praise the Lord seven times each day.

Although this arrangement, coming from the East, spread with much 3020
fruit to this region,[e] yet in some of the oldest eastern monasteries, which have never tolerated breaking the most ancient regulations of the elders, it appears never to have been admitted.

III.v. Not returning to bed after Matins

1. Not knowing why this celebration was determined or invented, some 3021
in this province return to sleep once the morning hymns have been completed, thus falling victim of the very evil our elders wanted to suppress by establishing this celebration. They hasten to complete it at this hour so that the more negligent or the less ardent may go back to sleep. But, as we explained more fully in the preceding book when describing the synaxis of the Egyptians,[f] it is not absolutely necessary that it be this way. [. . .]

2. So as not to risk this danger and since they were accustomed to arise 3022
on certain days even before cockcrow, the Egyptians, once their assembly has been regularly dismissed, then prolong the vigil to daylight. In this way the light of morning rising over them finds them established in the fervor of the spirit, keeping them full of ardor throughout the whole day; it receives them as being prepared for the struggle and strengthened by the exercise of the night vigils and of spiritual meditation for the day's combat against the devil.

III.vi. The elders made no change in the ancient system of psalmody when Matins was established

We should also know that our elders, who believed they should add 3023
this celebration of Matins, did not change the ancient custom of psalmody; the dismissal of the assembly was done in the same way as previously in the night offices. In fact, still today do they sing at the end of the night vigils—which normally end after cockcrow and before dawn—the hymns which in this region have been designated for the morning celebration,

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e. Region: Bethlehem? Provence?

f. See *The Instructions* II.xii.3 (WEC 3:2999).

18. Ps 119:164.

for example, Psalm 148 which begins, "Praise the Lord of heaven" and those that follow. But they selected Psalm 50, Psalm 62, and Psalm 89[g] for this new celebration. Finally, still today in Italy, once the morning hymns are completed, in all the churches Psalm 50 is sung, which I believe could have been borrowed from no other source.

III.VII. Whoever arrives for daily prayer after the first psalm is not permitted to enter the oratory; at the nocturns a person who arrives late but before the end of the second psalm is permitted to enter

3024 1. Someone who arrives late for Terce, Sext, or None, namely, before the end of the first psalm, should not venture to enter the oratory or to join those who are singing the psalms but, standing near the door, is to await the dismissal of the assembly. As the brothers depart, he is to prostrate upon the ground as a penance and request pardon for his negligence and his tardiness, knowing that he has no other means of atoning for his laziness and that he can only be admitted to the celebration that follows these three hours if he has immediately made satisfaction with true humility for his present negligence.

3025 2. At the night assemblies the late-comer is given a delay till the second psalm provided he has quickly taken his place among the brothers before they bow for prayer at the conclusion of this psalm. Liable to the same reproach, he is then to submit to the penance we have mentioned if he arrives—ever so little—beyond the time granted for arriving late.

III.VIII. The vigil celebrated on Friday night: its length and manner of celebration

3026 1. As nights are longer during the winter, the length of the vigils celebrated each week in the monasteries on Friday night extends, according to our elders, till the fourth cock-crow. Thus, after a vigil lasting throughout the night, there remain two good hours during which the brothers can rest, and so no longer do they risk becoming drowsy throughout the day since they are content with this brief time for resting rather than doing so throughout the whole night.

3027 2. We must observe this with the greatest care: satisfied with the sleep permitted us from the end of the vigils till daybreak, namely, till the morning psalms, we should spend the whole day in working and in doing our necessary tasks so that we do not give the impression that we, so exhausted by the vigils, make recompense during the day for the sleep taken from the night and have changed our time for nocturnal relaxation rather than depriving the body of its rest.

3028 In fact, our weak body could not possibly be defrauded of an entire night's rest and on the following day preserve intact its vigilance without spiritual drowsiness or torpor of the soul. It will be hindered rather than

g. The enumeration here follows the LXX.

helped if after the vigil it has not experienced sleep, however brief this may be.

4. It would be necessary to restore, adding in interest, these vigils if 3029
they had been prolonged thoughtlessly and unreasonably. This is why our elders divided them into three elements, thereby lessening fatigue and easing by a little rest weakness of the body. After having sung three psalms antiphonally while standing, they sit on the ground or on very low benches and respond to three psalms intoned in turn by different brothers. Then, continuing to sit in the same restful position, they add three lessons. And so, lessening physical fatigue, they observe their vigils with the greatest attention to the spirit.

III.IX. Why there is a vigil at dawn on Saturday; why the East does not fast on Saturday

1. At the time of the apostolic teaching, a time when the Christian reli- 3030
gion and faith were established, the whole East decided to celebrate a night vigil at dawn on Saturday. Our Lord and Savior was crucified on Friday. His disciples, afflicted by his suffering, kept watch throughout Friday night, refraining from sleep. And so since this time the whole East continues to celebrate a vigil during this night.

2. This is also why all the churches of the East rightly believe that break- 3031
ing the fast on Saturday after the laborious vigils was also decided by the apostles. Furthermore, this agrees with what we read in Ecclesiastes: although having another mystical meaning, the passage also signifies that we are ordered to attribute the same solemnity to both days, namely, to the seventh day and to the eighth day, for we read, "Give a part to these seven and also to these eight."[19]

3. Breaking the fast should not be considered as participating in the 3032
Jewish feast, especially by those who have nothing at all to do with Jewish superstition. They do so only as a respite which, as we have said, is fitting to a tired body; after fasting continuously for five days each week throughout the year, the body weakens and fails unless it is comforted by this period of two days.

III.X. Why people in the city fast on Saturday

1. In some cities of the West and especially in the city [of Rome] there 3033
are those who do not know the reason for this practice and believe that the fast is not to be broken on Saturday since, as they say, the Apostle Peter fasted on this very day when he stood in opposition to Simon.[h] Nonetheless, it is clear that Peter did this not because of an established custom but because of the struggle at hand since he seems to have indicated to his disciples a fast that was not habitual but special. Certainly he would not have

h. See *Acta Petri cum Simone* 18.

19. Eccl 11:2, LXX.

acted in such a fashion had he known that this practice would turn into a regularly observed custom. Likewise, he undoubtedly would have been disposed to order a fast even on Sunday had the occasion for his struggle fallen on that day. However, it does not follow that such a fast had to be immediately issued as a canonical rule since no general observance led to it, with necessity requiring that it be done only once.

III.XI. How the Sunday office differs from what is customary on other days

3034 1. We should also know this. On Sunday, before dinner, only one office is celebrated during which, out of respect for the *collecta*[i] and the Lord's Communion, more solemnity and fervor are given to the psalms, prayers, and lessons; terce and sext are believed to be included in this office. And so nothing is removed from this office of prayer; in fact, lessons are added. Nonetheless, compared to other days, variety and relaxation are given to the brothers because of respect for the Lord's resurrection. This seems to lighten the observance of the whole week, and thus the introduction of variety causes the brothers to look forward to the return of this same day as a more solemn day, like a feastday, an anticipation mitigating the fast of the week ahead. [. . .]

III.XII. Days on which, when supper is provided for the brothers, there is no psalm when they gather for the usual meal at dinner

3035 1. Finally, on these same days—namely, Saturday, Sunday and feasts—when both dinner and supper are customarily provided for the brothers, an evening psalm is no longer said, that is, neither when they go to the table nor when they leave it, as is customary at dinner on a feast and at the canonical collation that follows the fast where the customary psalms begin and conclude the meal. One proceeds to eat only after saying a simple prayer and, after getting up, the meal is concluded with prayer alone since this repast is special since not all are obliged to be present; it is for visitors, the sick, and those who have a personal desire to be there.

IV.XIX. How throughout Palestine and Mesopotamia the brothers perform a daily office

3036 1. So that we not seem to have omitted anything about the institutions of the communities, I think that I should quickly recall how the daily offices are celebrated in other regions. Throughout Mesopotamia, Palestine, Cappadocia, and the whole East, each week the brothers take turns with one another in performing these tasks, the number of ministers being proportionate to the size of the community. They are eager to perform these services with even more devotion and humility than a slave shows toward a harsh and all-powerful master. Not satisfied with the services imposed on them by the rule, they even rise during the night and diligently take upon themselves the tasks assigned to others; they seek to do beforehand and in secret what others are to do.

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i. *Collecta*: the liturgy itself?

2. Each monk carries out his assigned weekly duties up to supper on Sunday. When the meal is finished, his service for the whole week is completed so that when the brothers gather for the psalms they customarily sing before going to bed, those who will be replaced wash the feet of all in turn. [. . .] 3037

119. *DE SEPTEM ORDINIBUS ECCLESIAE*†

Written as a letter to a new bishop or to someone who will soon become a bishop, this anonymous treatise on the Church's seven offices—a work found among the works of Jerome (WEC 3:145)—is a type of directory describing, often in a rambling way, the tasks and obligations connected with both the higher as well as the lower ecclesiastical offices.

Some scholars posit an early fifth-century date for the work and see its origins in southern Gaul. Others believe the letter originates in the Iberian Peninsula and was written during the early seventh century.

CPL no. 764

G. Morin, "Hiérarchie et liturgie dans l'église gallicane au Ve siècle," RB 8 (1891) 97–104. * G. Morin, "Portion inédite de apocryphe hiéronymien 'De septem ordinibus ecclesiae,'" RB 40 (1928) 310–18. * A.W. Kalff, *Hieronymi "De septem ordinibus ecclesiae"* (Würzburg, 1938). * G. Morin, "Le destinataire de l'apocryphe hiéronymien 'De septem ordinibus ecclesiae,'" RHE 34 (1938) 229–44. * E. Griffe, "L'apocryphe hiéronymien 'De septem ordinibus ecclesiae,'" BLE 57, 6 ser. (1956) 215–24. * R.E. Reynolds, "The Pseudo-Hieronymian 'De septem ordinibus ecclesiae,'" RB 80 (1970) 238–52. * R.E. Reynolds, "The 'De officiis VII graduum': Its Origins and Early Medieval Development," MS 34 (1972) 113–51.

1. *The first grade of the Church, that of grave diggers.* The first clerical order is that of the grave diggers who, like holy Tobit, are admonished to bury the dead[1] so that, while showing concern for what can be seen, they hasten to what cannot be seen. Believing that our bodies will rise in the Lord, they know that what they do, they do for God and not for the deceased. Therefore it is fitting for the Church to have grave diggers. The prophet Tobit, with his faith, holiness, wisdom, and goodness, was one of them. Do not consider this office to be of little value. [. . .] 3038

2. *The second grade of the Church, that of doorkeepers.* The second place is that of the doorkeepers who hold the keys to the kingdom of heaven, which are given to the patriarchs [bishops] because they preside over the gates of Jerusalem [the Church]. They judge between good and evil; they open what no one is to close; and they close what no one is to open. [. . .] Without them you cannot enter the church. In turn they are appointed [*ordinati*] so that they may watch over what is within and without; perfect in all things, may they welcome the faithful and reject the unfaithful. 3039

† Translated from PL 30:128ff.; PLS 2:269.

1. See Tob 1:17, 19.

3040 3. *The third grade of the Church, that of readers.* The third grade is that of the readers, a grade given by God, Christ, and the prophets. As is written, "A voice says, 'Cry out'! All people are grass, and all human glory is like grass; grass withers, the flower fades, but the word of our God will stand forever."[2] Again, when our Lord was reading in the temple, he took on the role of a reader. Readers sing the Canticle of Moses and that of the Lamb: "It is these who have not defiled themselves with women, for they are virgins; these follow the Lamb wherever he goes."[3] The reader is numbered among the angels. [. . .]

3041 4. *The fourth grade of the Church, that of subdeacons.* The fourth ecclesiastical order is that of the subdeacons who in Ezra are called Nathinites, serving the Lord in humility. [. . .]

3042 5. *The fifth grade of the Church, that of the order of levites or deacons.* The fifth order of the sacrament is that of the deacons. God is their duty. Day and night they are forbidden to leave the Lord's temple. They are the pillar and foundation of truth. They support the churches of God. They are the altar of Christ, the altar on which the sacraments are made ready and on which the sacrifice is offered. As you know, what in God's church can be more venerable than the altar? Who does not humble himself while approaching the table of the Lord? We read about deacons in the Apocalypse where there are seven angels of the churches.[4] [. . .] Without the deacon, the priest has no name, has no beginning, has no office. The deacon is said to be God's minister because it is written, "Who is greater, he who serves or he who is served?" Just as the priest is to consecrate, so this servant is to distribute the sacrament. The priest is commanded to pray, the deacon to sing psalms. The priest is to sanctify the offerings, the deacon to distribute what has been sanctified. Priests should not presumptuously take the cup from the Lord's table unless it has been handed to them by a deacon. [. . .] Deacons place the offerings on the altar. They arrange the Lord's table. Deacons assist the priest while the sacraments are blessed. Deacons pray before the priest prays. [. . .] The Lord granted us the diaconal order so that all might see that the priest is not the only minister who acts and performs in church. The priest needs the diaconal office just as the deacon needs the priestly office, much the same as there can be no rich person without a poor person, nor someone poor without someone rich. [. . .] The presbyter needs a chair, the deacon an altar, the subdeacon the sacristy, the reader a lectern, the doorkeeper a church, and the grave digger a cemetery. [. . .]

3043 6. *The sixth grade of the Church, that of the order of priests.* The sixth order of rank is given to the priests, called presbyters, who preside over God's Church and who celebrate God's sacraments. With the bishops they share in the blessing. As to consecrating the Body and Blood of Christ, there is no difference between priests and bishops. And bishops, if there is need,

2. Isa 40:6, 7, 8. 3. Rev 14:4. 4. See Rev 1:4.

should accept a Eucharist that has already been blessed by priests and should know that priests share in the fullness of Christ. For if anyone recalls an injury inflicted at the hands of a priest or believes that one should not accept a Eucharist blessed by a presbyter, that person is deceived, thinking that the Lord has two bodies, one larger, the other smaller, with the bishop consecrating the larger whereas the presbyter consecrates the smaller. This divides Christ, thereby wronging him. And so there can be no difference between one baptism and another baptism. No one can believe that a person baptized by a bishop is more holy than a person baptized by a deacon. In the Acts of the Apostles we read that a eunuch was baptized by the deacon Philip. "Here is water! What is to prevent me from being baptized?"[5] And he said, "Nothing, if you believe." Faith makes clean. It is not the faith of the giver but the faith of the receiver. So we are to believe that baptism is perfect in every soul and that Christ's body is made perfect in every priest. Whoever does not receive the Eucharist consecrated by priests does not receive Christ. [. . .] I do not say that presbyters can celebrate the sacraments when bishops are presiding and standing at the altar. There is, perhaps, the case of necessity, namely, priests coming to the church when either the sacrifice has not yet been prepared or when it cannot be offered. In this case the bishop should not reject the Eucharist of the presbyter when it is placed on the altar. Because of Christ it is fitting to receive it for the presbyter is in the Body of Christ, as is written, "Now you are the Body of Christ and individually members of it."[6] "Love covers a multitude of sins."[7] "Faith, hope, and love abide, these three, and the greatest of these is love."[8] "Love is patient; love is kind; love is not envious or boastful or arrogant or rude."[9] "It bears all things; it believes all things."[10] "Love never ends."[11] And it is written, "Let the elders who rule be considered worthy of a double honor, especially those who labor in preaching."[12] It is fitting that priests preach, bless, strengthen, and restore communion. They must visit the sick, pray for invalids, celebrate all God's sacraments, especially since at the time of the apostles this was evidently the custom in Illyricum, in Italy, and throughout Africa. Because of his authority only the ordination of clerics and the consecration of virgins are reserved to the bishop; also the blessing of the basilica, the altar, and the chrism. [. . .] Since a presbyter consecrates Christ when he sanctifies the sacraments on God's altar, are not the people to be blessed by someone who merited to consecrate Christ? Also God's virgins even though the apostle says, "Now concerning virgins, I have no commandment of the Lord."[13] Following this reasoning, it is evident that when necessity requires, a virgin can be blessed by a presbyter because Mary, the mother of Christ the Lord, is a sister-virgin, the Eucharist is the Body of Christ, and Mary is less than the Lord. [. . .]

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5. Acts 8:36. 6. 1 Cor 12:27. 7. 1 Pet 4:8. 8. 1 Cor 13:13. 9. 1 Cor 13:4. 10. 1 Cor 3:7. 11. 1 Cor 13:18. 12. 1 Tim 5:17. 13. 1 Cor 7:25.

3044 7. *The seventh and highest grade of the Church, that of bishop or bishops.* The seventh order is that of the bishop, [. . .] who ordains priests, deacons, subdeacons, readers, doorkeepers, and grave diggers. Holding a rod, he judges Jerusalem [the Church]. He oversees the works of God. He shows what each is to do; he condemns, binds, and loosens. He holds the keys of the kingdom of heaven. He grants or denies admittance to the throne of God. No one outranks him. [. . .]

3045 Do not forbid fasting on Saturday by those who desire to do so on this day. They are to be assisted in this since our Lord worshiped and saved on the Sabbath. [. . .] We are to eat on the Lord's Day so that, being witnesses of his resurrection, we might proclaim the joy of the Lord to the pagans. The apostolic see obeys this rule although each bishop can change the custom of his own church should he so desire. But let me teach you from the holy books: Paul fasted a full forty days; also Moses; and Joshua rejected all food and drink for forty days. After the Pasch, however, namely, up to the feast of the Lord's ascension, even though the tradition of the churches allows us to eat, nonetheless, those clerics and monks who desire to fast are not to be prohibited from doing so because the peace of God exists throughout the days, months, seasons and years, hours and moments. Also, we read that the well-known monks Anthony and Paul[a] in the desert abstained even on Easter. Subject to fasting and abstinence, they never ate very much except perhaps on Sunday. [. . .]

3046 Baptism takes place with water, water that flowed from the side of the suffering Christ. Nothing else in this world purifies all things. Nothing else is the drinking cup of all. Nothing else gives life to all. And so the spirit of life is in the water, and the union of waters has received the name "seas." Whoever is baptized in the font is reborn in Christ. The font is the source of all graces. [. . .]

120. PROSPER OF AQUITAINE

Born ca. 403, Prosper was a monk in Marseilles. A strong defender of Augustine's (WEC 3:98) teaching on grace and predestination, sometime after 430 he journeyed to Rome to obtain Pope Celestine's (WEC 3:111) support against the Semipelagian opponents (especially among the monastic communities of Marseilles and Lérins) of Augustinianism. Prosper returned to Gaul with a somewhat less-than-hoped-for letter from the pope to the Gallican bishops—Celestine praised Augustine but disputed matters were left unresolved. With the election of Pope Leo I (WEC 3:113) in 440 Prosper returned to Rome and became, as it were, a theological assistant/writer in the papal office. His later writings were less polemical than those

a. Anthony of Egypt (ca. 251–356); Paul of Thebes, also known as Paul the Hermit (d. ca. 340).

produced formerly and even included theological poetry. Prosper's death occurred sometime after 455.

CPL nos. 516ff. * Altaner (1961) 535–37 * Altaner (1966) 450–52 * Bardenhewer (1908) 511–15 * Bardenhewer (1910) 441–44 * Bardenhewer (1913) 4:533–41 * Bardy (1930) 159–61 * Bautz 7:1002–4 * Jurgens 3:188–96 * Labriolle (1947) 2:662–66 * Labriolle (1968) 429–32 * Quasten 4:551–58 * Steidle 195–97 * Tixeront 270–72 * CATH 12:38–39 * CE 12:487–88 * DCB 4:492–97 * DictSp 12.2:2446–56 * DPAC 2:2928–29 * DTC 13:846–50 * EC 10:159–60 * EEC 2:717 * EEChr 2:954–55 * LTK 8:644–45 * NCE 11:878 * NCES 11:771–72 * ODCC 1338 * PEA (1894) 23.1:880–97 * PEA (1991) 10:448–49 * TRE 27:525–26

K. Federer, *Liturgie und Glaube: "Legem credendi lex statuat supplicandi" (Tiro Prosper von Aquitanien): eine theologiegeschichtliche Untersuchung*, Paradosis: Beiträge zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur und Theologie 4 (Fribourg i. S., 1950). * P. de Clerck, "'Lex orandi, lex credendi': sens originel et avatars historiques d'un adage équivoque," QL 59 (1978) 193–212.

120-A. Capitula Caelestini†

Once considered an anonymous work but now widely attributed to Prosper, this treatise, composed between 435 and 442, is in terms of its manuscript tradition found as an appendix to Celestine's letter to the bishops of Gaul.

Cap. VIII. [. . .] Let us also look at the mysteries of the priestly supplications which, handed down from the apostles, are uniformly celebrated throughout the whole world and in every Catholic church so that the law of prayer might establish the law of belief [*ut legem credendi lex statuat supplicandi*]. For when the leaders of the holy people carry out their commission, they represent the case of the human race before the merciful God, and together with the whole supplicating Church they request and pray that faith be given to unbelievers, that idolaters be freed from their godless errors, that the light of truth be seen by the Jews and that the veil be removed from their hearts, that heretics recover their senses by grasping the faith, that schismatics may receive the spirit of renewed love, that the remedies of penance may be given to those who have fallen, and finally that the court of heavenly mercy be open to the catechumens who have been led to the sacraments of rebirth. [. . .] 3047

120-B. The Call of All Nations††

This treatise (*De vocatione omnium gentium*) on how the heathens can be saved is generally attributed to Prosper and is believed to have been written ca. 450.

† Translated from PL 51:209.

†† Translated from PL 51:664.

3048 I.XII. [. . .] The Apostle—namely, the Lord who spoke through the Apostle—has commanded "that supplications, intercessions, and thanksgivings are to be made for all, for kings and for all who are in high places."[1] All priests and all the faithful are one as they follow this law of supplication so that there is no part of the world in which the Christian people do not pray in this way. Therefore the Church throughout the world makes petition to God, not only for the holy ones and those already reborn in Christ but also for all unbelievers and for those who are enemies of the cross of Christ, for all who practice idolatry, for all who persecute Christ in his members, for the Jews upon whose blindness the light of the Gospel does not shine, for heretics and schismatics who do not share in the unity of faith and love. [. . .]

121. SALVIAN OF MARSEILLES

Relatively little biographical data is known regarding Salvian, who was born ca. 400 in the vicinity of Cologne or Trier. He married, and after the birth of a daughter he and his wife decided to live an ascetical life, observing continence and giving their earthly goods to the poor. Eventually Salvian left his family and went to the isle of Lérins and then to Marseilles, where he became a member of the monastery of Saint Victor. He was ordained a presbyter in 429, yet we know nothing of the years he spent in this ministry. Salvian died ca. 480.

Salvian was a prolific writer, although much of his literary output has not survived. His classical Latin style has earned him the title of the Christian Cicero.

CPL nos. 485ff. * Altaner (1966) 456–57 * Bardenhewer (1908) 605–6 * Bardenhewer (1910) 521–23 * Bardenhewer (1913) 4:573–79 * Bautz 8:1258–66 * Labriolle (1947) 2:681–86 * Labriolle (1968) 439–42 * Quasten 4:528–37 * Steidle 193–94 * Tixeront 335–37 * CATH 13:772–74 * CE 13:411 * DCB 4:580 * DictSp 14:290–97 * DPAC 2:3073–76 * DTC 14.1:1056–58 * EC 10:1726–27 * EEC 2:754 * EEChr 2:1025–26 * LTK 8:1499–1500 * NCE 12:1003 * NCES 12:632–33 * ODCC 1448–49 * PEA (1894) 1.2 (n.s.) 2017–18 * PEA (1991) 10:1271

121-A. De gubernatione Dei†

Written after 440 and in eight books (the last being incomplete), this treatise is Salvian's best-known work. In light of the political, social, and moral turmoil caused by the barbarian invasions, Salvian addresses Christians regarding the question of God's providence. The misfortunes of the time, says the author, bear witness to God's judgment and thus are a call to conversion.

1. 1 Tim 2:1.

† Translated from PL 53:58.

III.11. [. . .] Perhaps you inquire as to the good things assigned by God 3049
to those who are Christian. What are these other than all the good things through which we believe, namely, all the things by reason of which we are Christians? First, there is the Law; then the prophets; third, the Gospel; fourth, the apostolic writings; last, the gift of rebirth, the grace of holy baptism, the anointing with holy chrism. As was once true among the Hebrews, namely, God's chosen and very own people, when the office of judges had passed over to the power of kings, through the anointing of kings God called the most recommended and most outstanding men to the kingdom so that all Christians after the anointing in the Church and after having obeyed all God's commandments will be called to heaven where they will receive the reward of their labor. [. . .]

122. SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS

Born of an aristocratic family ca. 430 in Lyons, Sidonius (*Gaius Sollius Apollinaris Sidonius*) received a good classical education and, following in the footsteps of his father and grandfather, entered public service. He married ca. 450 and became the father of several children. Against his will he was elected bishop of Clermont ca. 470/471. The invasion of the Arian Visigoths eventually resulted in Sidonius being banished from his diocese and imprisoned at Livia, a small town on the road to Narbonne. Freed in 476, he was allowed to return to Clermont, where he died ca. 486.

Sidonius is best remembered as a poet—twenty-four of his poems [*carmina*] have survived—and as a letter writer whose missives give a good insight into the social and political life of his day.

CPL nos. 986ff. * Altaner (1961) 598–99 * Altaner (1966) 498 * Bardenhewer (1908) 606–8 * Bardenhewer (1910) 523–24 * Bardenhewer (1913) 4:652–58 * Bardy (1930) 173–74 * Labriolle (1947) 2:736–42 * Labriolle (1968) 476–81 * Steidle 203–4 * Tixeront 341–43 * CATH 14:24–26 * CE 13:778 * DACL 15.1:1423–27 * DCB 4:649–61 * DHGE 3:986–92 * DPAC 2:3189–92 * DTC 14.2:2033–35 * EC 1:1641–42 * EEC 778–79 * EEChr 2:1057 * LTK 9:562 * NCE 13:197–98 * NCES 13:104 * ODCC 1498 * PEA (1894) 2.2 (n.s.) 2230–38 * PEA (1991) 11:522–23 * RACh 1:522–24

122-A. Letters

Sidonius collected 147 of his letters and arranged them into nine books. Difficult to date since they are not arranged in chronological order, they have been called "artistic letters," namely, letters meant to be published.

122-A-1. BOOK IV. LETTER 11. TO HIS FRIEND PETREIUS[†]

I am greatly saddened by the loss my generation feels at the death of your 3050
uncle Claudianus. [. . .] The following is his epitaph: "Under this mound

[†] Translated from PL 58:516–17.

lie the remains of Claudianus. [. . .] He was an orator, a logician, a poet, a court official, a man skilled in geometry, and a musician, someone knowing how to solve difficult questions and how with the sword of the word to bring down all those [*secare sectes*] attacking the Catholic faith. A singer and a teacher of the psalms, he, to the delight of his brother, taught his trained pupils to sing before the altar. For the annual feasts he prepared readings appropriate to the season. He was a priest of the second order." [. . .]

122-A-2. BOOK V. LETTER 17. TO ERIPHIUS†

3051 [. . .] We gathered at the tomb of Saint Justus,[a] but illness did not allow you to join us. It was his anniversary feast. A procession took place before dawn. There was a large crowd with people of both sexes, so large that the most expansive basilica with its surrounding porches could not hold them. After the vigil, during which the monks and the clergy celebrated together as they alternated the sweet psalmody, all left, going in various directions, but not far so that all could be present at the third hour for the Mass [*res divina*] celebrated by the priests. Due to the pressure of the crowd, the restrictions of space, and the [smoke of the] candles filling the church, we were gasping for breath. [. . .]

123. FAUSTUS OF RIEZ

Of British or Breton origin, Faustus at an early age entered the famous monastery at Lérins, where in 433 he became abbot. Ordained bishop ca. 466, he opposed Euric, the Arian king of the Visigoths, and consequently was forced into exile. Returning to Riez in 485, he died ca. 490. Greatly admired during his lifetime, Faustus is revered as a saint in southern France.

He has left us a handful of letters, several tracts, and a number of sermons, the latter still needing more scholarly examination as well as a critical edition.

CPL nos. 961ff. * Altaner (1961) 566–67 * Altaner (1966) 473–74 * Bardenhewer (1908) 600–604 * Bardenhewer (1910) 518–21 * Bardenhewer (1913) 4:582–89 * Bautz 2:1–2 * Labriolle (1968) 426–27 * Steidle 194–95 * Tixeront 332–33 * CATH 4:1122–23 * CE 6:19 * DCB 2:467–70 * DHGE 16:731–34 * DictSp 5:113–18 * DPAC 1:1336–38 * DTC 5.2:2101–5 * EC 5:1064–66 * EEC 1:320–21 * EEChr 1:425 * LTK 3:1199–1200 * NCE 5:861 * NCES 5:651 * ODCC 601 * PEA (1991) 4:448 * TRE 11:63–67

G. Morin, "Hiérarchie et liturgie dans l'église gallicane au Ve siècle, d'après un écrit restitué à Fauste de Riez," RB 8 (1891) 97–104. * L. de Witte, "Un traité 'De Eucharistia' au Ve siècle," CollMech 23 (1934) 207–13. * M.-B. Carra de Vaux Saint Cyr, "Le sacrement de confirmation: notes historiques," LV 10, no. 51 (1961) 16–58. * L.A. van Buchem, *L'homélie pseudo-eusébienne de Pentecôte: l'origine de la confirmatio*

† Translated from PL 58:547.

a. Justus: a fourth-century bishop of Lyons whose remains were buried in that city; his feast was celebrated on September 2.

en Gaul méridionale et l'interprétation de ce rite par Fauste de Riez (Nijmegen, 1967). * P.-L. Carle, "L'homélie de Pâques 'Magnitudo' (in CCSL t. 101, p. 192–208) de s. Fauste de Riez (ou de Lérins) (fin du Ve siècle)," Div 27 (1983) 123–54. * P.-L. Carle, "Commentaire du sermon 'Magnitudo' de s. Fauste de Riez: l'enseignement eucharistique de 'Magnitudo,'" Div 28 (1984) 203–41. * P.-L. Carle, "Bref commentaire du sermon eucharistique 'Magnitudo' du s. Fauste de Riez," Div 28 (1985) 3–42. * P.-L. Carle, "L'enseignement eucharistique du sermon 'Magnitudo' de s. Fauste de Riez," Div 29 (1985) 19–61. * D.J. Nodes, "'De subitanea paenitentia' in Letters of Faustus of Riez and Avitus of Vienne," RTAM 55 (1988) 30–40.

123-A. On the Grace of God†

Written in two books ca. 472, this treatise stresses the importance of free will and proposes an intermediate position between predestinationism and Pelagianism. In the early sixth century Faustus was accused of heresy and actually condemned as a heretic. In the sixteenth century the understanding of God's grace and human response as espoused by Faustus and others of similar mind was labeled Semipelagianism.

3052 I.XIV. [. . .] Heretics who convert to the Christian faith are not to be rebaptized. They are to be judged as cleansed by the working of grace so that they are clothed only with the chrismal blessing. [. . .]

123-B. On the Holy Spirit††

This treatise, written after 470, was for some unknown reason directed against the Macedonians, who in their attempt to safeguard the unity of God denied the divinity of the Holy Spirit.

3053 II. In baptism sins are removed. Through the coming of the Holy Spirit the gifts of strength [*virtutum munera*] are given, and miracles are performed by those who have been strengthened [*confirmatis*]. [. . .]

123-C. Sermons

123-C-1. SERMON 3. TO THE MONKS. ON PENANCE†††

3054 [. . .] Public penance is not necessary for a person who has renounced the world. Having converted, such a person has shown sorrow and has entered into an everlasting agreement with God. From the day on which the monk promised God to henceforth live justly, the sins committed in the world are no longer remembered. Therefore from the day on which the monk promised to carry out most faithfully the obligations that were put in writing. Even though as a believer he sinned while in the world, yet

† Translated from *Fausti Reiensis praeter Sermones Pseudoeusebianos Opera . . .*, ed. A. Engelbrecht, CSEL 21 (Vienna and Prague, 1891) 47.

†† Translated from CSEL 21:143.

††† Translated from PL 58:875–76.

after his second renunciation he should not hesitate to receive the Lord's Body lest under the pretext of humility he be separated from the Body and Blood of him to whom he has united himself so that there be one body. For this reason whoever ceases to sin should not cease to receive [*communicare*] provided he henceforth does not sin. [. . .]

123-C-2. SERMON 17. ON THE PASCH 6[†a]

3055 II. To be sure, there is only one perfect victim who is to be valued under the light of faith and not according to outward appearance, only one victim whose worth depends not on what is seen outwardly but on what is within. Therefore heavenly authority rightly asserts that "my flesh is truly food, and my blood is truly drink."[1] And so may all uncertainty of belief be absent because the giver of the gift also witnesses its truth.

3056 For the invisible priest by his word, by his special power, converts visible created things into the substance of his Body and Blood, saying, "Take and eat, this is my Body"; repeating the sanctification he says, "Take and drink, this is my Blood."[2]

3057 VIII. May no one doubt that the most excellent created things at the command of power, by the presence of majesty, can pass over into the nature of the Lord's Body since we see mankind made into the Body of Christ by the artistry of heavenly goodness.[3]

3058 Just as when someone comes to the faith, before the words of baptism he or she is still bound by the old debt. Yet by recalling these things he or she is soon set free from all impurity of sin. So it is that created things, when placed on the holy altar to be blessed by the heavenly words, have the substance of bread and wine before the invocation of the divine name; yet after Christ's words they are his Body and Blood. [. . .]

123-C-3. SERMON 28. ON PENTECOST[††]

3059 [. . .] During the confirmation of the neophytes the imposition of the hand gives to each of them what the descent of the Holy Spirit at that time gave to all the people. Now that I have said that the laying-on of the hand and that confirmation can confer something upon a person who has already been reborn in Christ, perhaps someone might ask, "What benefit can I gain from having someone confirm me after the mystery of baptism?

[†] Translated from *Eusebius "Gallicanus" Collectio Homiliarum . . .*, ed. J. Leroy and F. Glone, CCL 101 (Turnhout, 1970) 196–97, 207–8.

a. This sermon, attributed by some to Faustus, is found in a collection that has been given the name Eusebius Gallicanus; it is a seventh-century compilation of seventy-six homilies taken from diverse sources.

1. John 6:55. 2. Matt 26:26; Mark 14:22; Luke 22:19; 1 Cor 11:24. 3. See Rom 12:5; 1 Cor 10:17; 12:27.

[††] Translated from PLS 3:615–16. This piece is found among the sermons of Eusebius Gallicanus.

As I see it, we have not received everything from the font if afterwards there is still something to be added, something we need."

This, beloved, is not so. Just listen. Military service requires that when an 3060
emperor receives a soldier into his army, the emperor should not only place a mark on the soldier but should also furnish him with arms appropriate for battle. So it is that the blessing [of confirmation] protects the one who has been baptized. You enlisted a soldier; now give him what is needed to fight. Nothing is gained if a parent grants much to a child and yet fails to supply a protector. So the Paraclete is the guardian, the consoler, and the protector of those who have been reborn in Christ. As the Scriptures say, "Unless the Lord builds the city, the builders keep watch in vain."[1] Therefore the Holy Spirit, who descends upon and in a salutary way flows into the baptismal waters, grants all innocence at the font. In confirmation the Spirit gives an increase of grace because in this world those who will conquer—no matter what their age—will walk among dangers and invisible enemies. In baptism we are reborn unto life; after baptism we are strengthened for battle. In baptism we are nourished; after baptism we are strengthened. And so the benefits of rebirth are sufficient for those who will immediately pass on [to heaven]. The help given by confirmation, however, is necessary for those who will be victorious. Regeneration in itself saves those who will soon be received into the peaceful abode of the holy ones; confirmation arms us and instructs us on how we are to keep ourselves safe from the struggles and battles of this world. [. . .]

124. GENNADIUS OF MARSEILLES

Very little is known about the life of Gennadius. He was a presbyter in Marseilles, a church historian, and a staunch defender of orthodoxy, even though some consider him a Semipelagian. Most of his literary works are lost. Gennadius died ca. 492–505.

CPL nos. 957ff. * Altaner (1961) 567–68 * Altaner (1966) 474 * Bardenhewer (1908) 608–9 * Bardenhewer (1910) 525–26 * Bardenhewer (1913) 4:595–99 * Bautz 2:205–6 * Labriolle (1947) 2:668–69 * Steidle 195 * CATH 4:1833 * CE 6:417–18 * DCB 2:631–32 * DHGE 20:477–79 * DictSp 6:205–8 * DPAC 2:1450–52 * DTC 6.1:1224–25 * EC 6:7–8 * EEC 1:342 * EEChr 1:458–59 * LTK 4:464–65 * NCE 6:334 * NCES 6:137–38 * ODCC 663 * PEA (1894) 7.1:1171–73 * PEA (1991) 4:918 * TRE 12:376–78

124-A. On Ecclesiastical Dogmas[†]

Highly popular in the Middle Ages, this theological compendium explains various ecclesiastical practices and defends orthodox teaching against the heretics.

1. Ps 127:1.

[†] Translated from PL 58:993–94, 997–98.

3061 LII. There is only one baptism, and it is found in the Church where there is one faith and where baptism is conferred in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. Therefore if those whom the heretics baptize by invoking the name of the Trinity come to us, they are certainly to be received as people who have been baptized so that the invocation and profession of the holy Trinity not be rendered useless. However, they are to be fully taught and instructed as to the Church's understanding of the mystery of the Trinity. And if they believe or acknowledge this, they, already purified, may be strengthened in the fullness of their faith by the imposition of the hand. If such be children or be mentally impaired, incapable of grasping what is taught, then those bringing them may respond in their own names as is done at baptism; and so strengthened by the imposition of the hand and the chrism, they may be admitted to the eucharistic mysteries. However, we affirm that those coming to us, those baptized by heretics without an invocation of the holy Trinity, are to be baptized, not rebaptized. No one is to believe that those who were not washed in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, as the Lord required, have been baptized. [. . .] If any of these come to us, they are not to be questioned as to whether or not they have been baptized. What matters is this. If they believe what the Church believes, then they are to receive the Church's baptism.

3062 LIII. I neither praise nor blame those who receive the Eucharist each day. However, I recommend and encourage Communion on the Lord's Day provided a person is not affected with sin. As I see it, the reception of the Eucharist by someone who still desires to sin burdens rather than purifies. Therefore even though a person is stung by sin, he or she may not continue to desire sinning. Before receiving Communion, satisfaction is to be made by means of tears, prayers, and trust in the mercy of the Lord, who was accustomed to forgive sins that were piously acknowledged. Then one can calmly and without worry approach the Eucharist. Here I am speaking about those who are not burdened by mortal and capital sins. As to those who have committed mortal sins after baptism, these I exhort to do penance first, and then by the priest's judgment they are to be reconciled and united in communion if they desire to receive the Eucharist not unto judgment and condemnation. We do not deny that mortal sins may be forgiven by private satisfaction: first, having changed one's secular garb and demonstrating zeal for the things of God through the correction of one's life, a person may obtain pardon through the yoke of perpetual mourning and by means of God's mercy. Doing the opposite of what they performed penance for, they, being suppliant and humble, may receive the Eucharist on Sundays throughout the rest of their lives.

3063 LXXIII. We believe that the bodies of the saints and especially the remains of the blessed martyrs are to be most highly honored as if they were Christ's very own members; basilicas are to be named after them. [. . .]

3064 LXXIV. We believe that salvation may be attained only by those who have been baptized. We also believe that no catechumen, not even those

who have led good lives, now enjoys eternal life. An exception would be the martyrs, for in these all the rites of baptism have taken place. Those to be baptized confess their faith before the priest and respond to various questions. Martyrs do the same before the persecutor. Confessing their faith, they are questioned and give a reply. Water is sprinkled [*aspergitur*, "poured"?] over the baptized, or they are plunged into the water. The martyrs, on the other hand, are sprinkled with their blood or are placed into the fire. Through the imposition of the bishop's hand the baptized receive the Holy Spirit, thereby becoming the dwelling place of the Holy Spirit; it is not the baptized who speak but the Spirit of the Father who speaks in them. The baptized receive the Eucharist in memory of Christ's death. The martyr, however, dies with Christ. The baptized profess that they will renounce the things of the world; the martyrs renounce life itself. All sins are removed from the baptized; as to the martyrs, their sins are abolished.

LXXV. Water alone is not to be offered when celebrating the Eucharist; 3065
this pretense of sobriety simply leads some astray. No, wine mixed with water is offered. Wine was present in the mystery of our redemption, for he said, "I will not drink henceforth from the fruit of the vine."[1] Wine is mixed with water, not water offered after the meal but water that flowed from his side when it was pierced by a lance,[2] wine and water expressing what came from the true vine of his body.

124-B. On Illustrious Men†

Here the author, continuing Jerome's (WEC 3:**145**) opus on famous men, gives 101 notices, each devoted to a fifth-century Christian writer. This listing appears to have been compiled over a period of years, and some notices are generally acknowledged as having been added by others. Furthermore, not all agree that Gennadius was the original author of this book; nevertheless, most scholars believe that the work was composed about his time.

XLVIII. Paulinus,[a] bishop of Nola in Campana, [. . .] authored a sacra- 3066
mentary and a book containing hymns. [. . .]

LXXVIII. Vaconius, the bishop of Castellum in Mauretania, [. . .] wrote 3067
an excellent sacramentary.

LXXIX. Museus, a presbyter of the church at Marseilles, [. . .] at the re- 3068
quest of Saint Venerius selected from the holy Scriptures readings suitable for the feasts of the whole year; also selections from the psalms that were appropriate for the seasons of the year and for the readings. This work, so necessary, is considered worthwhile by readers in the Church since it

1. Matt 16:29. 2. See John 19:50–51.

† Translated from PL 58:1086–87, 1103–4, 1115–16.

a. WEC 3:**110**.

obviates anxiety, questioning, and delay; it also helps instruct the people and promotes the dignity of the service. For holy Eustachius, the successor of the aforesaid man of God, he composed an admirable sacramentary. Divided into sections according to offices and seasons, it is no small volume, containing as it does texts of the readings, a series of psalms to be sung, petitions to the Lord, and prayers of thanksgiving for God's gifts. [. . .]

3069 XCIV. Gelasius,[b] bishop of Rome, [. . .] also wrote hymns in the style of Bishop Ambrose.[c] [. . .]

125. *STATUTA ECCLESIAE ANTIQUA*[†]

This collection of canons, originating in southern Gaul and composed during the late fourth century or during the fifth century, was long attributed to a spurious council supposedly held in Carthage in 398. Caesarius of Arles (WEC 4:168) and more recently Gennadius of Marseilles (WEC 3:124) have been suggested as the authors of these directives; the attribution to Caesarius, however, has generally been rejected.

CPL no. 1776 * Hefele (1871) 2:409–18 * Altaner (1966) 474 * Hefele (1905) 2.1:102–20 * CE 3:283 * DPAC 2:3304–6 * DTC 2.2:1806–10 * EEC 2:793–94 * EEChr 2:1088 * LTK 9:935–36 * NCE 13:682 * NCES 13:501 * ODCC 1539

G. Morin, "Les 'Statuta ecclesiae antiqua' sont-ils de s. Césaire d'Arles?" RB 30 (1913) 334–42. * B. Botte, "Le rituel d'ordination des 'Statuta ecclesiae antiqua,'" RTAM 11 (1939) 233–41. * R. Metz, "La consécration des vierges en Gaule, des origines à l'apparition des livres liturgiques," RDC 6 (1956) 321–39. * C. Munier, "Une forme abrégée du rituel des ordinations des 'Statuta ecclesiae antiqua,'" RevSR 32 (1958) 79–84. * C. Munier, "Nouvelles recherches sur les 'Statuta ecclesiae antiqua,'" RDC 9 (1959) 170–80. * C. Munier, *Les Statuta ecclesiae antiqua* (Paris, 1960). * L.A. Van Buchem, *L'homélie Pseudo-Eusebienne de Pentecôte: l'origine de la confirmation en Gaul méridionale et l'interprétation de ce rite par Fauste de Riez* (Nijmegen, 1967) 223–34.

3070 Canon 2. (XXXV) In church and in the council of presbyters the bishop shall have a higher seat; but at home he must conduct himself as a colleague of the presbyters.

3071 Canon 3. (XX) A bishop shall not be occupied with everyday cares but only with reading, prayer, and preaching the word of God.

3072 Canon 10. (XXII) A bishop shall not ordain clerics without the advice of his copresbyters and is to seek the agreement and witness of the people.[a]

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b. WEC 3:115.

c. WEC 2:53.

[†] Canons translated from *Concilia Galliae à 314 à 506*, ed. C. Munier, CCL 148 (Turnhout, 1963).

a. See Laodicea (between 343 and 381) can. 13 (WEC 2:1965); Hippo (393) *Brev. Hipp.* ser. 2 can. 20 (WEC 2:884); *Capitula Martini* (after 561) can. 1 (WEC 4:4675).

Canon 12. (XXXIV) Whenever the bishop is seated, he shall allow no presbyter to remain standing.[b] 3073

Canon 16. (LXXXIV) The bishop shall hinder no one, whether a heathen, a heretic, or a Jew, from entering the church and hearing the word of God before the dismissal of the catechumens. 3074

Canon 18. (LXXIV) The presbyter shall place all those desiring to do penance under the penitential regulations. 3075

Canon 19. (LXXV) Careless penitents shall be received only after a certain period of time. 3076

Canon 20. (LXXVI) Should sick persons desire penance and yet when the priest arrives are no longer able to speak because of the sickness or because they have lost understanding, then those who heard their wish shall testify to it, and they shall receive penance. If it is believed that the sick are soon to die, they shall be reconciled through the imposition of hands, and the Eucharist will be given to them.[c d] If they live, the aforementioned witnesses shall assure them that their wish has been granted, and they must be placed under the penitential discipline for as long as the priest who granted them penance approves.[e] 3077

Canon 21. (LXXVIII) Penitents who have received Viaticum, the holy Eucharist,[f] during a sickness should not, if they recover, think that they are absolved without the imposition of hands. 3078

Canon 22. (LXXIX) If penitents who have carefully carried out the penitential regulations should die on a journey or at sea where no one can come to their assistance, they shall be remembered in prayer, and the sacrifice may be offered on their behalf. 3079

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b. See Laodicea (between 343 and 381) can. 56 (WEC 2:2000).

c. The Latin reads: "*fundatur . . . eucharistia*"—perhaps a reference to Communion by receiving the consecrated wine.

d. See Elvira (ca. 300) cans. 1, 6, 7, 37, 47 (WEC 2:1270–72, 1284, 1290); Ancyra (314) cans. 16, 22 (WEC 2:1432, 1435); Nicaea I (325) can. 13 (WEC 2:1453); Rome (488) Letter 7, can. 3 (WEC 3:2959); Orange I (441) can. 3 (WEC 3:3125); Vaison (442) can. 2 (WEC 3:3137); Arles II (between 442 and 506) can. 28 (WEC 3:3149); Agde (506) can. 15 (WEC 4:4552); Epaon (517) can. 36 (WEC 4:4587); Orleans III (538) cans. 6, 28 (WEC 4:4605, 4609); *Capitula Martini* (after 561) can. 82 (WEC 4:4699); Gerunda (517) can. 9 (WEC 4:4722); Barcelona I (ca. 540) can. 9 (WEC 4:4732).

e. See Carthage II (390) cans. 3–4 (WEC 2:876–77); Hippo (393) *Brev. Hipp.* ser. 2 can. 30-b (WEC 2:888); Elvira (ca. 300) can. 32 (WEC 2:1279); *Statuta* (5th c.) can. 20 (WEC 3:3077); Agde (506) can. 15 (WEC 4:4552); Toledo III (589) ser. 2 cap. 11 (WEC 4:4766).

f. See Ancyra (314) can. 22 (WEC 2:1435); Nicaea I (325) can. 13 (WEC 2:1453); *Statuta* (5th c.) can. 20 (WEC 3:3077); Arles II (between 442 and 506) can. 28 (WEC 3:3149); Orange I (441) can. 3 (WEC 3:3125); Rome (488) Letter 7, can. 3 (WEC 3:2959); Agde (506) can. 15 (WEC 4:4552); Epaon (517) can. 36 (WEC 4:4587); Gerunda (517) can. 9 (WEC 4:4722); Orleans III (538) cans. 6, 28 (WEC 4:4605, 4609); *Capitula Martini* (after 561) can. 82 (WEC 4:4699).

3080 Canon 23. (LXXXV) Those who desire to be baptized must submit their names, and having been tested by abstinence from wine and meat and frequently having received the imposition of hands they shall be baptized.

3081 Canon 24. (LXXXVI) The newly baptized shall for a time refrain from luxurious feasts, from the theater, and from intercourse with their wives.

3082 Canon 33. (LXXXVIII) Whoever does not attend the assembly in the church on feasts but goes instead to the theater shall be excommunicated.

3083 Canon 35. (XLIX) A cleric in good health who absents himself from the night vigils[g] shall be deprived of his stipend.

3084 Canon 37. (XCIX) A woman, no matter how learned and holy, may not teach in an assembly of men.

3085 Canon 38. (XCVIII) A layman may not teach in the presence of the clergy except with their approval.

3086 Canon 41. (C) A woman may not baptize.[h]

3087 Canon 49. (XCIII) The offerings of those brethren who have ill will toward one another may not be received in the sacristy or in the *gazophylacium*.[i j]

3088 Canon 55. (LXVII) Those who are quarrelsome, usurers, or revengeful are never to be ordained clerics.

3089 Canon 56. (XXXIII) If a bishop or presbyter visits the church of another bishop, he must be received according to his rank and invited to preach as well as to offer the holy sacrifice.

3090 Canon 57. (XXXVII) A deacon must understand that he is the servant of the priest as well as that of the bishop.[k]

3091 Canon 58. (XXXVIII) When necessity requires and a presbyter is present, the deacon will, when commanded, distribute the eucharistic Body of Christ to the people.[l]

3092 Canon 60. (XL) Only at the time of the offering and the reading shall the deacon wear the alb.

3093 Canon 61. (XL) If a deacon is asked to speak in the assembly of the presbyters, he shall do so.

3094 Canon 62. (XC) The exorcists shall lay their hands daily on the energumens.[m n]

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g. See Toledo I (400?) can. 5 (WEC 3:3169); Irish Synod I (between 450 and 456) can. 7 (WEC 3:3173); Vannes (between 461 and 491) can. 14 (WEC 3:3163); Tarragona (516) can. 7 (WEC 4:4714); Orleans II (533) can. 14 (WEC 4:4598); Orleans III (538) can. 15 (WEC 4:4606); *Capitula Martini* (after 561) can. 63 (WEC 4:4693).

h. Dvin (527) can. 10 (WEC 4:4840).

i. *Gazophylacium*: a room in which the cathedral's or church's treasures were stored.

j. See Elvira (ca. 300) can. 28 (WEC 2:1277); Lerida (546) can. 13 (WEC 4:4735).

k. See Angers (453) can. 2 (WEC 3:3152).

l. Arles II (between 442 and 506) can. 15 (WEC 3:3144).

m. Energumens: people considered psychologically impaired or believed to be under the power of the devil.

n. See Elvira (ca. 300) cans. 29, 37 (WEC 2:1278, 1284); *Statuta* (5th c.) can. 95 (WEC 3:3114); Orange I (441) cans. 13–15 (WEC 3:3129–31).

Canon 63. (XCI) The energumens shall sweep the church. 3095

Canon 64. (XCII) The energumens who remain in the house of God must have each day's food given them at the appropriate time by the exorcists. 3096

Canon 65. (LXXX) During each time that the fast is imposed the penitents must receive the imposition of hands from the presbyters. 3097

Canon 66. (LXXXI) The penitents are to bring the dead to church and bury them. 3098

Canon 67. (LXXXII) Penitents are to kneel even on feastdays.[o] 3099

Canon 69. (XCIV) The gifts of those who oppress the poor are to be refused by the priests.[p] 3100

Canon 76. (LXIII) A cleric who without urgent necessity breaks the fast shall be reduced to a lower rank. 3101

Canon 77. (LXIV) Those who persist in fasting on Sunday[q] are not considered to be Catholics. 3102

Canon 78. (LXV) Easter must be celebrated everywhere on the same day and at the same time.[r] 3103

Canon 81. (LXXI) The gathering places of the heretics shall not be called churches but *conciliabula*.[s] 3104

Canon 82. (LXXII) It is not permitted to pray or to sing psalms with heretics.[t] 3105

Canon 84. (LXVIII) A penitent, even if he is a good man, may not be ordained a cleric.[u] Should this occur through the ignorance of the bishop, the person who was ordained must be deposed because at his ordination he concealed the fact. But if the bishop has knowingly ordained such a person, the bishop forfeits his right to ordain. 3106

Canon 85. (LXIX) The same punishment is incurred by a bishop who knowingly ordains a man married to a widow or divorced person, or a man who has been married twice.[v] 3107

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o. See Nicaea I (325) can. 20 (WEC 2:1457).

p. See Elvira (ca. 300) can. 28 (WEC 2:1277); Lerida (546) can. 13 (WEC 4:4735).

q. See Saragossa (ca. 380) can. 2 (WEC 2:1295); Gangra (ca. 345) can. 18 (WEC 2:1955); Agde (506) can. 12 (WEC 4:4549); Orleans IV (541) can. 2 (WEC 4:4616); Braga I (561) can. 4 (WEC 4:4737); *Capitula Martini* (after 561) can. 57 (WEC 4:4692).

r. See Nicaea I (325) (WEC 2:1459); Antioch (341) can. 1 (WEC 2:1947); Hippo (393) *Brev. Hipp.* ser. 1 can. 1 (WEC 2:880); Carthage V (401) can. 73 (WEC 3:2747); Orleans IV (541) can. 1 (WEC 4:4615).

s. *Conciliabula*: namely, "meeting places."

t. See Laodicea (between 343 and 381) can. 33 (WEC 2:1983); *Capitula Martini* (after 561) can. 70 (WEC 4:4698).

u. See Toledo I (400?) can. 2 (WEC 3:3168); Agde (506) can. 43 (WEC 4:4560); Epaon (517) can. 3 (WEC 4:4575); Arles IV (524) can. 3 (WEC 4:4591); Orleans III (538) can. 6 (WEC 4:4605).

v. See Arles IV (524) can. 3 (WEC 4:4591); Orleans III (538) can. 6 (WEC 4:4605).

3108 Canon 87. (XXXVI) The presbyters in charge of churches throughout the diocese shall not request the chrism before Easter[w] from any bishop whomsoever but from their own bishop, and not through any junior cleric but either in person or through the sacristan.

3109 Canon 90. (II) When a bishop is consecrated, two bishops place and hold the Book of the Gospels over his neck, and while one bishop pronounces a blessing over him, all the other bishops who are present impose their hands on his head.

3110 Canon 91. (III) When a presbyter is ordained, and the bishop in blessing him lays his hand upon his head, all the presbyters present also lay their hands on his head.

3111 Canon 92. (IV) When a deacon is ordained, only the bishop who blesses him lays his hand upon his head because he is made holy not for the priesthood but in order to minister.

3112 Canon 93. (V) When a subdeacon is ordained, he receives no imposition of the hands, but he receives from the bishop the empty paten and chalice, and the archdeacon gives him the *urceolum*[x] with water, the *mantile*,[y] and the *manutergium*.[z]

3113 Canon 94. (VI) When an acolyte is ordained, the bishop instructs him as to how he is to behave in his office. The archdeacon gives him the candlestick with the candle so that he might understand that he has the task of lighting the lamps in the church; he will accept an empty *urceolum* for providing the wine for the eucharistic Blood of Christ.

3114 Canon 95. (VII) When an exorcist is ordained, the bishop gives him the book in which the exorcisms are written; the bishop says, "Receive [these words] and commit them to memory, and have the power of laying hands upon the energumens whether they are baptized or catechumens."[aa]

3115 Canon 96. (VIII) When a reader is ordained, the bishop speaks to the people regarding him, his faith, and his life, and then presents him with the book from which he is to read, saying, "Receive and be a reader of God's word. If you faithfully and profitably fulfill your office, you will share in the reward of those who have ministered the word of God."

3116 Canon 97. (IX) When a doorkeeper is ordained, after the archdeacon has instructed him on how he should conduct himself in the house of God, the bishop—after receiving an answer from the archdeacon—gives him from the altar the keys of the church while saying, "Act in such a manner

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w. See Toledo I (400?) can. 20 (WEC 3:3172); Vaison (442) can. 3 (WEC 3:3138); Auxerre (late 6th or early 7th c.) can. 6 (WEC 4:4632); *Capitula Martini* (after 561) can. 51 (WEC 4:4686); Braga II (572) can. 4 (WEC 4:4757); Barcelona II (599) can. 2 (WEC 4:4773).

x. *Urceolum*: a "little pitcher."

y. *Mantile*: a cloth used for scrubbing the altar.

z. *Manutergium*: a linen cloth.

aa. See *Statuta* (5th c.) can. 62 (WEC 3:3094).

as to give an account to God of the things that are unlocked by these keys."

Canon 98. (x) A psalmist, namely, a cantor, may receive his office by the command of the presbyter alone, without the previous knowledge of the bishop. The presbyter thus addresses him, saying, "What you sing with your mouth, may you believe in your heart. What you believe in your heart, may you practice by your works." 3117

Canon 99. (xi) If a virgin is to be presented to the bishop for consecration, she must wear the same clothing as she will wear afterwards in accordance with her sacred calling. 3118

Canon 100. (xii) Widows and virgins consecrated to God who are to assist at the baptism of women must be so instructed for this office that they can clearly and soundly teach the ignorant and rustic women at the time of their baptism as to how they should reply to the questions of the person performing the baptism and how they are to live after having been baptized. 3119

Canon 101. (xiii) A bride and bridegroom shall be presented to the priest by their parents or those representing them for a blessing. Out of respect for the blessing they have received, they shall spend the following night as virgins. 3120

126. SYNODS

126-A. Synod of Riez (439)[†]

A certain Armentarius was uncanonically installed as the bishop of Embrun, which Hilary of Arles (d. 449) considered to be one of his suffragan diocese. As a consequence Hilary called a synod, held on November 29, 439, to resolve the matter.

CPL no. 1779a * Hefele (1905) 2.1:423–30 * Hefele (1871) 3:157–59 * DCA 2:1792 * DPAC 2:2993 * EEC 1:737 * NCE 2:423–30

L.A. Van Buchem, *L'Homélie Pseudo-Eusebienne de Pentecôte: l'origine de la confirmation en Gaul méridionale et l'interprétation de ce rite par Fauste de Riez* (Nijmegen, 1967) 91–94, 136–37.

Canon 3. [. . .] [Armentarius] is never to offer the sacrifice in town or when the bishop is absent. Nor is he to ordain even the lowest cleric.[a] He is not to carry out any episcopal function in any church that has mercifully been entrusted to him. [. . .] He can bless the people in the church he has received; he can confirm[b] [*confirmare*] the newly-baptized in villages and towns although not in the episcopal city. 3121

[†] Canons translated from *Concilia Galliae à 314 à 506*, ed. C. Munier, CCL 148:66–68.

a. See Ancyra (314) can. 13 (WEC 2:1431).

b. See Elvira (ca. 300) can. 77 (WEC 2:1294); Laodicea (between 343 and 381) can. 48 (WEC 2:1994); Rome (ca. 400?) can. 11 (WEC 3:2958); Toledo I (400?) can. 20 (WEC 3:3172); Orange I (441) can. 2 (WEC 3:3124); Braga II (572) can. 4 (WEC 4:4757).

3122 Canon 4. [. . .] Only in his own church can he consecrate virgins[c] and confirm the newly-baptized. So that there be a witness to abundant mercy, his actions are to be inferior to those of the bishop, superior to those of the priest. [. . .]

126-B. Synod of Orange I (441)[†]

This synod, held on November 8, 441, and presided over by Hilary of Arles, issued thirty canons.

Hefele (1905) 2.1:430–54 * Hefele (1871) 3:159–64 * CE 11:266–67 * DCA 2:1462–63 * DDCon 3:237 * DPAC 2:2493 * EEC 1:615 * EEChr 2:831 * NCE 10:712 * NCES 10:620 * ODCC 1186

D. van den Eynde, "Le deuxième canon du Concile d'Orange de 441, sur chrismation," RTAM 11 (1939) 97–109. * A. Chavasse, "La deuxième canon d'Orange de 441," in *Mélanges Podechard* (Lyons, 1945) 103–20. * L.A. Van Buchem, *L'Homélie Pseudo-Eusébienne de Pentecôte: l'origine de la confirmation en Gaul méridionale et l'interprétation de ce rite by Fauste de Riez* (Nijmegen, 1967) 95–110, 137, 171. * G. Winkler, "Confirmation or Chrismation? A Study in Comparative Liturgy," Wor 58 (1984) 9–10.

3123 Canon 1. If heretics who are seriously ill desire to become Catholics, then in the bishop's absence the presbyter may sign them with chrism[a] and [give] the blessing.

3124 Canon 2. No minister [deacon] who has been appointed to baptize should ever go without the chrism since among us it has been agreed that there is but a single chrismation.[b] As to the person who at the time of baptism has not for any serious reason received the chrismation, the bishop [*sacerdos*] will be made aware of this at the time of the confirmation. Also among all there is only one blessing of the chrism, not that this settles the question of repeating the chrismation whose repetition should not be considered necessary.

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c. See Carthage II (390) can. 3 (WEC 2:876); Hippo (393) *Brev. Hipp.* ser. 2 can. 1 (WEC 2:881); Hippo (393) *Brev. Hipp.* ser. 2 can. 1 (WEC 2:881); Agde (506) can. 19 (WEC 4:4555).

[†] Canons translated from CCL 148:78–83.

a. See Laodicea (between 343 and 381) can. 7 (WEC 2:1960); Constantinople I (381) can. 7 (WEC 2:1460); Arles II (between 442 and 506) cans. 17, 26 (WEC 3:3145, 3148); Epaon (517) can. 16 (WEC 4:4576).

b. See Elvira (ca. 300) can. 77 (WEC 2:1294); Laodicea (between 343 and 381) cans. 7, 48 (WEC 2:1960, 1994); Rome (ca. 400?) can. 11 (WEC 3:2958); Toledo I (400?) can. 20 (WEC 3:3172); Arles II (between 442 and 506) cans. 17, 26 (WEC 3:3145, 3148); Epaon (517) can. 16 (WEC 4:4576); Braga II (572) can. 4 (WEC 4:4757); Mâcon II (585) can. 3 (WEC 4:4653).

Canon 3.When penitents fall ill, Communion, fittingly called Viaticum,[c] shall be given them without the reconciling imposition of the hand. According to the testimony of the elders, this alone suffices for the dying. Should they recover, they must resume their place among the penitents, and only after the performance of the proper works of penance may they receive regular Communion together with the reconciling laying on of the hand. 3125

Canon 4. Penance is not to be denied to clerics who request it.[d] 3126

Canon 11 (12). Those who suddenly lose the power of speech may be baptized or admitted to penance if they voluntarily requested this either in the past according to the testimony of others or at the present by means of signs. 3127

Canon 12 (13). To those who have become insane all possible benefits of religion are to be granted. 3128

Canon 13 (14). Possessed persons[e] who have been baptized and have entrusted themselves to the care and guidance of the clergy may receive Communion so that by the power of the sacrament they may ward off the attacks of the evil spirits or show that they have been cleansed. 3129

Canon 14 (15). Possessed persons who are catechumens may be baptized when it is necessary or opportune. 3130

Canon 15 (16). Those who were once openly possessed by a demon shall not become clerics. Those who have already been ordained will forfeit their office. 3131

Canon 16 (17). The *capsa*[f] is to be brought in with the cup which is to be sanctified by mixing in the Eucharist. 3132

Canon 17 (18). In all our provinces the catechumens will be present when the gospel is read.[g] 3133

Canon 18 (19). The catechumens shall not [before their baptism] enter the baptistery. 3134

Canon 19 (20). At the blessing of the faithful, even during prayers at home, the faithful, as far as possible, are to be set apart for their blessing and signing. 3135

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c. See Elvira (ca. 300) cans. 1, 6, 7, 37, 47 (WEC 2:1270–72, 1284, 1290); Ancyra (314) cans. 16, 22 (WEC 2:1432, 1435); Nicaea I (325) can. 13 (WEC 2:1453); Rome (488) Letter 7, can. 3 (WEC 3:2959); *Statuta* (5th c.) cans. 20–21 (WEC 3:3077–78); Vaison (442) can. 2 (WEC 3:3137); Arles II (between 442 and 506) can. 28 (WEC 3:3149); Agde (506) can. 15 (WEC 4:4552); Epaon (517) can. 36 (WEC 4:4587); Orleans III (538) cans. 6, 28 (WEC 4:4605, 4609); *Capitula Martini* (after 561) can. 82 (WEC 4:4699); Gerunda (517) can. 9 (WEC 4:4722); Barcelona I (ca. 540) can. 9 (WEC 4:4732).

d. See Arles II (between 442 and 506) can. 29 (WEC 4:3150).

e. See Elvira (ca. 300) cans. 29, 37 (WEC 2:1278, 1284); *Statuta* (5th c.) cans. 62–63 (WEC 3:3094–95).

f. *Capsa*: a small container holding some of the eucharistic bread consecrated at a previous liturgy.

g. See Valence (ca. 524) can. 1 (WEC 4:4724).

3136 Canon 25 (26). Deaconesses will in no way be ordained;[h] those already deaconesses will receive the blessing along with the laity.

126-C. Synod of Vaison (442)†

Ten canons are ascribed to this synod, which took place on November 13, 442, and at which Hilary of Arles (d. 449) was the most influential prelate.

Hefele (1905) 2.1:454–60 * Hefele (1871) 3:164–67 * DACL 15.2:2885 * DCA 2:2010 * DPAC 2:3537 * EEC 2:858 * ODCC 1674

3137 Canon 2. As to those who after undertaking and doing penance lead a good life and then without receiving Communion suddenly die while in the country or on a journey, oblations shall be accepted for them; they are to be accorded a funeral, and their memory is to be celebrated with ecclesiastical affection. It would be wrong not to commemorate these faithful ones at the saving sacrifice; with faith and confidence they prepared themselves for the holy mysteries; for a long period of time they behaved as guilty penitents; they judged themselves to be unworthy of the mysteries of salvation; they desired to be readmitted after having been completely purified of their sins, and yet they died without sacramental Viaticum.[a] To be sure, no priest [*sacerdos*] would have refused them final reconciliation [*absolutissima reconciliatio*] had they lived.

3138 Canon 3. Shortly before Easter the presbyters and deacons of a territory shall request the chrism,[b] seeking it not from some nearby bishop but from their own bishop. They shall obtain it themselves, not by just any

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h. See Nicaea I (325) can. 19 (WEC 2:1456); Laodicea (between 343 and 381) can. 11 (WEC 2:1964); Nîmes (394) can. 2 (WEC 2:1226); *Statuta* (5th c.) can. 100 (WEC 3:3119); Chalcedon (451) can. 15 (WEC 3:3379); Epaon (517) can. 21 (WEC 4:4577); Dvin (527) can. 17 (WEC 4:4844); Orleans II (533) can. 18 (WEC 4:4600).

† Canons translated from CCL 148:96.

a. See Elvira (ca. 300) cans. 1, 6, 7, 37, 47 (WEC 2:1270–72, 1284, 1290); Ancyra (314) cans. 16, 22 (WEC 2:1432, 1435); Nicaea I (325) can. 13 (WEC 2:1453); Rome (488) Letter 7, can. 3 (WEC 3:2959); *Statuta* (5th c.) cans. 20–21 (WEC 3:3077–78); Orange I (441) can. 3 (WEC 3:3125); Arles II (between 442 and 506) can. 28 (WEC 3:3149); Agde (506) can. 15 (WEC 4:4552); Epaon (517) can. 36 (WEC 4:4587); Orleans III (538) cans. 6, 28 (WEC 4:4605, 4609); *Capitula Martini* (after 561) can. 82 (WEC 4:4699); Gerunda (517) can. 9 (WEC 4:4722); Barcelona I (ca. 540) can. 9 (WEC 4:4732).

b. See *Statuta* (5th c.) can. 87 (WEC 3:3108); Toledo I (400?) can. 20 (WEC 3:3172); Auxerre (late 6th or early 7th c.) can. 6 (WEC 4:4632); *Capitula Martini* (after 561) can. 51 (WEC 4:4686); Braga II (572) can. 4 (WEC 4:4757); Barcelona II (599) can. 2 (WEC 4:4773).

ecclesiastic whatever. But if there is a necessity or a ministerial duty, then it is to be obtained by a subdeacon because it is disrespectful to entrust what is highest to those who are lowest. What is received is best received by the person who will use it. Should this not be possible, at least the sacristan should receive what is holy.

126-D. Synod of Arles II (between 442 and 506)[†]

Some believe that these canons (many of which repeat earlier local legislation) are merely a fifth-century private collection of regulations that were never passed by any synodal body.

CPL nos. 111ff. * Hefele (1905) 2:460–76 * Hefele (1871) 3:167–71 * CE 1:727 * DCA 1:142 * DDCon 1:84 * EC 1:1950 * EEC 1:79 * NCES 4:299 * ODCC 105

L.A. Buchem, *L'Homélie Pseudo-Eusebienne de Pentecôte: l'origine de la confirmation en Gaul méridionale et l'interprétation de ce rite par Fauste de Riez* (Nijmegen, 1967) 110–11, 171–72.

Canon 1. A neophyte is not to be ordained a priest or a deacon.[a] 3139

Canon 2. A married man is not to be made a priest unless his conversion[b] has preceded. 3140

Canon 10. As to those who showed themselves weak during times of persecution, the decree of Nicaea determined that they spend five years among the catechumens and two years among those taking part in the prayer so that it is not among the penitents that they seek communion.[c] Let it be in the power and will of the bishop, if he sees that they have put aside error and done penance, to receive them to communion, doing so out of ecclesiastical kindness. 3141

Canon 11. Those forced to deny or to sacrifice because they were not given food or because they were persecuted will refrain from Communion. They will spend two years among the catechumens and three years among the penitents. 3142

Canon 12. Those who die during their time of penance shall not be sent forth without Communion. Their offering is to be received because they have observed the law of penance. 3143

[†] Canons translated from CCL 148:114–24.

a. See Nicaea I (325) can. 2 (WEC 2:1448); Laodicea (between 343 and 381) can. 3 (WEC 2:1957); *Capitula Martini* (after 561) can. 22 (WEC 4:4678).

b. Conversion: undertaking a life of asceticism or celibacy?

c. See Elvira (ca. 300) can. 1 (WEC 2:1270); Ancyra (314) cans. 1–12 (WEC 2:1422–30); Nicaea I (325) cans. 11, 14 (WEC 2:1451, 1454); Valence (374) can. 3 (WEC 2:1225); Arles II (between 442 and 506) can. 11 (WEC 3:3142); Epaon (517) can. 29 (WEC 4:4584).

3144 Canon 15. A deacon is not to sit in the *secretarium* [sanctuary?] among the presbyters;[d] and if a presbyter is present, the deacon must not administer the Body of Christ[e] under penalty of deposition from the diaconal office.

3145 Canon 17. The Bonosians,[f] who like the Arians baptize in the name of the Trinity, will be received into the Church only by chrism[g] and the imposition of the hand if when questioned they confess our faith with all their hearts.

3146 Canon 21. A female penitent who after her husband's death marries or enters into suspicious or forbidden relations with another man shall be excommunicated along with him. The same applies to a man who is a penitent.

3147 Canon 22. A person who is married can be admitted to penance only with the permission of the other partner.[h]

3148 Canon 26. If heretics who are seriously ill desire to become Catholics, then in the bishop's absence the presbyters may sign them with chrism[i] and the blessing.

3149 Canon 28 (27). Those in danger of death who have received penance are to be given Communion.[j] If they recover after having received Viaticum, they will take their place in the order of penitents. Once they have demonstrated the indispensable fruits of penance, they will rightfully receive the reconciling imposition of the hand.

3150 Canon 29 (28). Penance is not to be denied to clerics who request it.[k]

3151 Canon 50. Those who publicly show enmity toward one another must not be present at divine services till they are reconciled.

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d. See Nicaea I (325) can. 18 (WEC 2:1455); Laodicea (between 343 and 381) can. 20 (WEC 2:1972); Barcelona I (ca. 540) can. 4 (WEC 4:4727).

e. See Elvira (ca. 300) can. 32 (WEC 2:1279); *Statuta* (5th c.) can. 58 (WEC 3:3091).

f. Bonosians: followers of Bonosius, a late fourth-century bishop of Sardica who, among other things, denied the perpetual virginity of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

g. See Laodicea (between 343 and 381) can. 7 (WEC 2:1960); Constantinople I (381) can. 7 (WEC 2:1460); Orange I (441) can. 1 (WEC 3:3123); Arles II (between 442 and 506) can. 26 (WEC 3:3148); Epaon (517) can. 16 (WEC 4:4576).

h. See Orleans III (538) can. 27 (WEC 4:4608).

i. See note g above.

j. See Elvira (ca. 300) cans. 1, 6, 7, 37, 47 (WEC 2:1270–72, 1284, 1290); Ancyra (314) cans. 16, 22 (WEC 2:1432, 1435); Nicaea I (325) can. 13 (WEC 2:1453); Rome (488) Letter 7, can. 3 (WEC 3:2959); *Statuta* (5th c.) cans. 20–21 (WEC 3:3077–78); Orange I (441) can. 3 (WEC 3:3125); Vaison (442) can. 2 (WEC 3:3137); Agde (506) can. 15 (WEC 4:4552); Epaon (517) can. 36 (WEC 4:4587); Orleans III (538) cans. 6, 28 (WEC 4:4605, 4609); *Capitula Martini* (after 561) can. 82 (WEC 4:4699); Gerunda (517) can. 9 (WEC 4:4722); Barcelona I (ca. 540) can. 9 (WEC 4:4732).

k. See Orange I (441) can. 4 (WEC 3:3126).

126-E. Synod of Angers (453)†

Held on October 4, 453, upon the election of a new bishop for Angers, this synod of seven bishops issued twelve canons.

CPL no. 1780 * Hefele (1905) 2.2:883–86 * Hefele (1871) 4:3–5 * DCA 1:90 * DDCon 1:37–38 * DPAC 1:203 * EC 1:1263 * EEC 1:40

Canon 2. With all submissiveness deacons are to honor the presbyters.[a] 3152

Canon 5. The same punishment [excommunication and isolation while eating] is to be imposed on those who desert the penitential state they have undertaken;[b] likewise on women who voluntarily forsake a state of virginity dedicated to God. 3153

Canon 9. Bishops are not permitted to confer higher orders upon clerics of other dioceses.[c] 3154

Canon 10. Laymen or clerics who have been ordained as ministers and refuse to carry out their office are to be punished. [. . .] 3155

Canon 11. Only a man who has been married once and to a virgin can be ordained a presbyter or deacon.[d] 3156

Canon 12. All who confess their sins can be admitted to penance and shall, according to the bishop's judgment, be pardoned in proportion to the seriousness of their offenses. 3157

126-F. Synod of Tours I (461)††

Meeting on November 18, 461, the feast of Saint Martin, nine bishops under the presidency of Perpetuus of Tours passed thirteen canons, some—as was frequently the practice—merely renewing former legislation.

CPL no. 1782 * Hefele (1905) 2.2:898–900 * Hefele (1871) 4:10–11 * DACL 15.2:2585 * DCA 2:1990 * DPAC 2:3486 * EEC 2:847

Canon 1. [. . .] If the laity are commanded to observe abstinence in order to be free for prayer and to be heard when beseeching God, so much the more is this true for presbyters and deacons [*levitae*]; at every moment they 3158

† Canons translated from CCL 148:137–38.

a. See *Statuta* (5th c.) can. 57 (WEC 3:3090).

b. See Tours I (461) can. 8 (WEC 3:3159); Vannes (between 461 and 491) can. 3 (WEC 3:3160); Orleans I (511) can. 11 (WEC 4:4564); Epaon (517) can. 23 (WEC 4:4579); Orleans III (538) can. 28 (WEC 4:4609); Toledo III (589) ser. 2 cap. 11 (WEC 4:4766).

c. See Orleans III (538) can. 16 (WEC 4:4607).

d. See Orleans III (538) can. 6 (WEC 4:4605); Arles IV (524) can. 3 (WEC 4:4591).

†† Canons translated from CCL 148:143–46.

should be prepared for God, secure in all cleanliness and purity so that they are ready as necessity requires to offer the sacrifice and to baptize.

3159 Canon 8. Those who, like a dog returning to its vomit,[1] abandon the penance they have professed will be separated from the communion of the Church and from dealings with the faithful.[a] In this way they may more readily experience sorrow, and others may be deterred by their example.

126-G. Synod of Vannes (between 461 and 491)[†]

This synod at Vannes in Brittany issued sixteen canons. The meeting, at which six bishops were present, occurred between 461 and 491.

Hefele (1905) 2.2:904–6 * Hefele (1871) 4:16–18 * CE 15:272 * DACL 15.2:2585 * DCA 2:2011 * DPAC 2:3553 * EEC 2:862

3160 Canon 3. Penitents who have interrupted their public penance and have returned to their former erroneous and worldly way of life are not only to be excluded from the reception of the Lord's sacraments but also from having dealings with the faithful.[a]

3161 Canon 4. Those who have professed virginity and have shown this through the imposition of the hand will if caught in adultery be separated from communion together with their partners.

3162 Canon 11. Presbyters, deacons, subdeacons, and all who are themselves forbidden to marry are not to attend the marriages of others nor frequent gatherings where love songs are sung and where wicked and indecent gestures are used during dances.[b] In this way those who are appointed for the holy mysteries may not be polluted by the infection of what they see and hear.

3163 Canon 14. A cleric living in this city who absents himself from the morning hymns [*matutini hymni*][c] without sufficient excuse, for example, sickness, is to be excluded from Communion for seven days. At the very time

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a. See Angers (453) can. 5 (WEC 3:3153); Vannes (between 461 and 491) can. 3 (WEC 3:3160); Orleans I (511) can. 11 (WEC 4:4564); Epaon (517) can. 23 (WEC 4:4579); Orleans III (538) can. 28 (WEC 4:4609); Toledo III (589) ser. 2 cap. 11 (WEC 4:4766).

1. See 2 Pet 2:22.

† Canons translated from CCL 148:152–55.

a. See Angers (453) can. 5 (WEC 3:3153); Tours I (461) can. 8 (WEC 3:3159); Orleans I (511) can. 11 (WEC 4:4564); Epaon (517) can. 23 (WEC 4:4579); Orleans III (538) can. 28 (WEC 4:4609); Toledo III (589) ser. 2 cap. 11 (WEC 4:4766).

b. See Neo-Caesarea (ca. 320) can. 7 (WEC 2:1439); Laodicea (between 343 and 381) can. 53 (WEC 2:1999); Agde (506) can. 39 (WEC 4:4559).

c. See *Statuta* (5th c.) can. 35 (WEC 3:3083); Toledo I (400?) can. 5 (WEC 3:3169); Irish Synod I (between 450 and 456) can. 7 (WEC 3:3173); Tarragona (516) can. 7 (WEC 4:4714); Orleans II (533) can. 14 (WEC 4:4598); Orleans III (538) can. 15 (WEC 4:4606).

when urgent necessity excuses him from carrying out the duties of his holy ministry, it is not lawful for him to slack off in his wholesome religious life.

Canon 15. Within our province there is to be one order for celebrating the holy rites[d] and one method for singing the psalms.[e] Just as we adhere to one faith confessing the Trinity, so also we are to follow one rule for the holy offices; in this way our devotion is not thought to differ because of a practice that differs. 3164

IBERIA

127. URANIUS

Uranius was a priest and a student of Paulinus of Nola (WEC 3:110), and in 431 he wrote a letter to a certain Pacatus giving the details of Paulinus's death.

Bardenhewer (1913) 3:571 * DCB 4:1061 * DPAC 2:3532 * EEC 2:856

127-A. Letter. On the Death of Paulinus of Nola[†]

11. "[. . .] Three days before Paulinus was called from this world to the heavenly dwelling, all had already despaired of his health. Two bishops, eager to visit him, arrived, namely, holy Symmachus[a] and blessed Acindynus.[b] Paulinus was so invigorated and restored by their coming that, all bodily weakness being forgotten, he appeared to them as completely spiritual and angelic. As if about to proceed to the Lord, he ordered that the holy mysteries be offered for him at his bedside. [. . .] 3165

IV. "[. . .] At the break of dawn the holy man became aware of what was ordinarily done. All were summoned and he as customary celebrated Matins, doing so in the usual manner. When day arrived, he, following the Lord's example,[1] extended peace as an inheritance to the presbyters, deacons, and all the clergy. Then as if awaken from sleep, at the time of the evening devotion and with hands outstretched he softly said, 'I have prepared a candle for my Christ. I have sung to the Lord.' [. . .] 3166

XI. "[. . .] Roused from sleep on the same day, namely, Thursday, he rewarded all the clergy and the poor as was his custom; he was healthy enough to celebrate the Lord's Supper. He freed himself for prayer on 3167

d. See Epaon (517) can. 27 (WEC 4:4582); Gerunda (517) can. 1 (WEC 4:4717); Braga I (561) ser. 2 can. 4 (WEC 4:4742).

e. See Agde (506) can. 30 (WEC 4:4557); Braga I (561) ser. 2 can. 1 (WEC 4:4739).

† Translated from PL 53:860–62, 865–66.

a. Symmachus: apparently the bishop of Capua.

b. Acindynus: unknown see.

1. See John 14:27.

Friday. On Saturday, however, at the second hour of the day he joyfully went to the church; ascending the platform, he as customary exchanged greetings with the people; he said the prayer; and at the prayer's conclusion [*collecta oratione*] he breathed forth his spirit. A vigil was observed that night in the church. On the following day, namely, the Pasch, tapers having been lit, a procession with a large number of neophytes followed by a multitude of people wound its way to his tomb where he was given a splendid and venerable burial."

128. SYNODS

128-A. Synod of Toledo I (400?)[†]

Primarily directed against Priscillianism, a heretical movement fostering spiritual renewal, this synod (not all agree as to its precise date) of nineteen bishops issued twenty canons.

Hefele (1905) 2.1:122–25 * Hefele (1871) 3:175–77 * DCA 2:1966–67 * DPAC 2:3471–72 * DTC 15.1:1176–77 * EEC 2:844 * NCE 14:190 * NCES 14:99

S. González, "Tres maneras de penitencia: la disciplina penitencial de la Iglesia española desde el siglo V al sigli VIII," RET 1 (1942) 985–1019.

3168 Canon 2. A person who has done penance is not to be admitted among the clergy.[a] If necessity or need requires, he may be placed among the doorkeepers or the readers but in such a way that he does not read the Gospels or the writings of the apostles. If he was previously ordained a subdeacon, he is to remain among the subdeacons; the hand is not to be imposed on him nor is he to touch holy things. We are referring to those penitents who after baptism did public penance in sackcloth for their serious sins, for having committed murder or other various crimes, and were then reconciled at the holy altar.

3169 Canon 5. A presbyter, a deacon, a subdeacon, or any cleric assigned to a church—if he is within the city or is in a place where there is a church, or in a castle or village or country estate—who does not go to the daily sacrifice will not be ranked among the clergy if he, reproached, does not wish to show that by making amends he has merited pardon given by the bishop.[b]

[†] Canons translated from CV 20–25.

a. See *Statuta* (5th c.) can. 84 (WEC 3:3106); Agde (506) can. 43 (WEC 4:4560); Epaon (517) can. 3 (WEC 4:4575); Arles IV (524) can. 3 (WEC 4:4591); Orleans III (538) can. 6 (WEC 4:4605); *Capitula Martini* (after 561) can. 23 (WEC 4:4679).

b. See *Statuta* (5th c.) can. 35 (WEC 3:3083); Irish Synod I (between 450 and 456) can. 7 (WEC 3:3173); Vannes (between 461 and 491) can. 14 (WEC 3:3163); Tarragona (516) can. 7 (WEC 4:4714); Orleans II (533) can. 14 (WEC 4:4598); Orleans III (538) can. 15 (WEC 4:4606); *Capitula Martini* (after 561) can. 63 (WEC 4:4693).

Canon 9. No consecrated virgin or widow in the absence of the bishop or a presbyter is to sing psalms [*antiphonas faciat*] in her home with a confessor or her servant. Vespers [*lucernarium*] is only to be celebrated in the church. But if it takes place on a country estate, a bishop or a presbyter or a deacon is to be present. 3170

Canon 14. Whoever does not consume the Eucharist received from a priest is to be expelled as one guilty of sacrilege. 3171

Canon 20. Although almost everywhere it is customary that only the bishop blesses the chrism, in some regions and provinces presbyters are said to do this. Henceforth no one other than the bishop is to bless the chrism.[c] He will send it throughout his diocese. Before Easter deacons or subdeacons are to be sent from every church to the bishop[d] so that the chrism blessed by him may be available for use at Easter.[e] Certainly the bishop can bless the chrism at any time. Nothing is to be done without the bishop's knowledge. The deacon is not to use the chrism but the presbyter may do so when the bishop is absent. In the presence of the bishop the presbyter may only use the chrism if the bishop instructs him to do so. [. . .] 3172

BRITISH ISLES

129. SYNODS

Two synods are traditionally said to have occurred under Saint Patrick about the middle of the fifth century. Some of the canons enacted have come down to us, although in a corrupted version.

CPL nos. 1102, 1791 * Hefele (1905) 2.2:888–98 * Hefele (1871) 4:7–10 * DCA 1:868 * DDCon 2:197–98 * DPAC 2:1820–21 * EEC 1:411

129-A. Irish Synod I (between 450 and 456)[†]

Canon 7. Any cleric who due to negligence is absent from the morning or evening gathering[a] will be held in disfavor unless perhaps he is prevented by the yoke of strict duty. 3173

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c. See Carthage II (390) can. 3 (WEC 2:876); Hippo (393) *Brev. Hipp.* ser. 2 can. 34 (WEC 2:891); Braga I (561) ser. 2 can. 19 (WEC 4:4752).

d. See *Statuta* (5th c.) can. 87 (WEC 3:3108); Vaison (442) can. 3 (WEC 3:3138); Toledo I (400?) can. 20 (WEC 3:3172); Auxerre (late 6th or early 7th c.) can. 6 (WEC 4:4632); *Capitula Martini* (after 541) can. 51 (WEC 4:4686); Braga II (572) can. 4 (WEC 4:4757); Barcelona II (599) can. 2 (WEC 4:4773).

e. See Elvira (ca. 300) can. 77 (WEC 2:1294).

† Canons translated from Mansi 6:516–18.

a. See *Statuta* (5th c.) can. 35 (WEC 3:3083); Toledo I (400?) can. 5 (WEC 3:3169); Vannes (between 461 and 491) can. 14 (WEC 3:3163); Tarragona (516) can. 7 (WEC 4:4714); Orleans II (533) can. 14 (WEC 4:4598); Orleans III (538) can. 15 (WEC 4:4606); *Capitula Martini* (after 561) can. 63 (WEC 4:4693).

3174 Canon 10. Whoever sings the psalms disjointedly or wears his hair long is to be excluded from the church unless he immediately changes his ways.

3175 Canon 14. A Christian who murders, commits fornication, or—like the pagans—visits soothsayers, will do a year's penance for each sin. Having completed a year of penance, this person may come forward with witnesses and afterwards be released by a priest.

3176 Canon 15. Whoever steals must do penance for twenty days on bread [and water] and if possible must repay what has been stolen. [. . .]

3177 Canon 18. Till penance has been done, an excommunicated person must not enter the church on Easter night.

3178 Canon 23. If a presbyter has built a church, he must not offer in it till he has brought his bishop, as is fitting, to consecrate it.[b]

3179 Canon 28. A cleric who has been excommunicated is to pray alone and not in the same dwelling with his brethren;[c] nor is he to offer or to consecrate until he shows that he has corrected himself. Whoever fails to do this is to be punished twice.

129-B. Irish Synod II (after 456)[†]

This synod apparently occurred later than the previous one, and yet its date is unknown, perhaps in the late fifth century.

3180 Canon 19. Catechumens are made so on Sunday [*octava dies*]; then they are baptized on the solemnities of the Lord, namely, at Easter,[a] Pentecost,[b] and Epiphany.

3181 Canon 22. [. . .] The Eucharist is especially to be received during the Easter Vigil.[c] Whoever does not receive Communion at this time is considered as not being a member of the faithful. [. . .]

3182 Canon 31. All sins are washed away by baptism. But whoever believes what Christians believe and is still not a member of the faithful and falls into sin is to be considered as a Christian who is a sinner.

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b. See Agde (506) can. 14 (WEC 4:4551); Epaon (517) can. 26 (WEC 4:4581); Orleans III (538) can. 16 (WEC 4:4607); Braga I (561) ser. 2 can. 19 (WEC 4:4752); Braga II (572) cans. 5–6 (WEC 4:4758–59).

c. See Antioch (341) can. 2 (WEC 2:1948).

[†] Canons translated from Mansi 6:525–27.

a. See Laodicea (between 343 and 381) can. 45 (WEC 2:1991); Agde (506) can. 13 (WEC 4:4550); Auxerre (late 6th or early 7th c.) can. 18 (WEC 4:4641); Gerunda (517) can. 4 (WEC 4:4720); *Capitula Martini* (after 561) can. 49 (WEC 4:4684); Mâcon II (585) can. 3 (WEC 4:4653).

b. See Gerunda (517) can. 4 (WEC 4:4720).

c. See Agde (506) can. 18 (WEC 4:4554).

SERBIA

130. NICETAS OF REMESIANA

Very little is known of the life of Nicetas. He became bishop of Remesiana (today Bela Palanka in Serbia) ca. 370. Twice he journeyed to Italy, in 398 and again in 402, visiting Paulinus of Nola (WEC 3:110) on the way. He died ca. 414.

We are told that Nicetas composed numerous hymns; none of these, however, have survived. Among his literary works the most famous is the *Instructio ad competentes*, a manual for baptismal instruction. Not widely accepted is the opinion that Nicetas was the author of the *Te Deum*.

CPL nos. 646ff. * Altaner (1961) 458–59 * Altaner (1966) 391 * Bardenhewer (1908) 440–42 * Bardenhewer (1910) 384–85 * Bardenhewer (1913) 3:598–605 * Labriolle (1947) 1:438–42 * Labriolle (1968) 302–4 * Quasten 4:190–94 * Steidle 201–2 * Tixeront 240–41 * CATH 9:1216 * CE 11:52 * DCB 4:37 * DictSp 11:214–19 * DPAC 2:2397–98 * DTC 11.1:477–79 * EC 8:1838–39 * EEC 2:595 * EEChr 2:813–14 * LTK 7:843 * NCE 10:440 * NCES 10:356–57 * ODCC 1147 * PEA (1894) 17.1:179–80 * PEA (1991) 8:887–88 * TRE 24:460–63

AUTHOR OF THE *TE DEUM*?

G. Morin, "L'auteur du Te Deum," RB 7 (1890) 151–59. * G. Morin, "Nouvelles recherches sur l'auteur du Te Deum," RB 11 (1894) 49–77, 337–39. * G. Morin, "Le 'Te Deum,' type anonyme d'anaphore latine préhistorique," RB 24 (1907) 180–223. * P. Cagin, *Te Deum ou Illatio?* Scriptorium Solesmense 1.1 (Solesmes, 1906). * A.E. Burn, *The Hymn Te Deum and Its Author* (London, 1926). * J.A. Jungmann, "Quos pretiso sanguine redemisti," ZkTh 61 (1937) 105–7. * A. Baumstark, "'Te Deum' und eine Gruppe griechischen Abendhymnen," OC 34 (1937) 1–26. * J. Zeiller, "Un ancien évêque d'Illyricum, peut-être auteur du 'Te Deum,' s. Niceta de Remesiana," CRI (1942) 356–69. * J. Brinktrine, "Eine aufallende Lesart in der mozarabischen Rezension des Te Deum," EphL 64 (1950) 349–51. * M. Simonetti, "Studi sull'innologia popolare cristiana dei primi secoli," in *Atti Acc. Naz. Lincei, Memorie Ser.* 8, 4 (1952) 478–81. * E. Kaehler, *Studien zum Te Deum und zur Geschichte des 24. Psalm in der Alten Kirche* (Göttingen, 1958). * K. Gamber, "Das 'Te Deum' und sein Autor," RB 74 (1964) 318–21.

OTHER TOPICS

T. Barns, "The 'Magnificat' in Niceta of Remesiana and Cyril of Jerusalem," JThSt 7 (1905–6) 449–53. * C.H. Turner, "Niceta of Remesiana 'De Vigiliis' and 'De Psalmodiae Bono,'" JThSt 22 (1920–21) 305–20. * S.C. Alexe, "The Utility of Ecclesiastical Chant in the Community according to St. Nicetas of Remesiana" (in Romanian), *Biserica Ortodoxa Romîna* 75 (1957) 153–82. * K. Gamber, "Ist Niceta von Remesiana der Verfasser von De Sacramentis?" OstkSt 7 (1958) 153–72. * K. Gamber, *Die Autorschaft von De sacramentis: Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Liturgiegeschichte der römischen Provinz Dacia mediterranea*, Studia Patristica et Liturgica (Regensberg, 1967). * D.B. Saddington, "The Educational Effect of Catechetical Instruction in the Fourth Century A.D.," *Euphrosyne* 5 (1972) 249–71.

130-A. On the Vigils of the Servants of God†

This treatise, using abundant examples from both the Old and the New Testaments, defends the practice of prayer during the night.

3183 IV. [. . .] As promised, I must say something about the usefulness of the psalms even though this is better taught by experience rather than by listening to words. By "tasting" "we see that the Lord is good."[1] And so only the person who has tasted understands and grasps how much filth is removed, how much dullness of mind is shaken off, how great a light shines upon the souls of those who keep watch and pray, and how grace and such a holy encounter give joy to all who keep watch. By means of the vigil all fear is banished; faith is born; the flesh is tormented; sins are washed away; chastity is strengthened; foolishness gives way; prudence appears; the mind is sharpened; error is weakened; the devil, being the source of sins, is wounded by the sword of the Spirit. What can be more useful, more necessary? What is more appropriate than such holy riches? What is more pleasing than this delight? What is more blessed than this happiness? As a witness there is the prophet who at the beginning of the Book of Psalms describes the blessed man and finds the utmost happiness in the verse that says, "Day and night they meditate on the law of the Lord."[2] Certainly meditation during the day is good; prayer during the day is also good. But meditation during the night is more pleasing, more efficacious. Various necessities interrupt the day; tasks divert the mind; a multitude of cares weakens judgment. The night, being quiet and suitable for those who pray, is set apart. Night is most appropriate for those who keep watch. Placing aside worldly preoccupations, the whole person stands before the Divine with undivided attention. [. . .]

130-B. On the Usefulness of Psalmody††

It is interesting that in this defense of singing Nicetas, following several biblical manuscripts, ascribes the singing of the *Magnificat* to Elizabeth and not to Mary.

3184 I. Whoever keeps a promise is released from a debt. I recall that when speaking on the attractiveness and usefulness of vigils, I promised to say something in a future sermon on the usefulness of hymns and songs of praise. It is precisely this that, God willing, I will now do.

3185 Clearly there can be no better time than the present, a time during which the children of the light believe the night to be day, a time during which night itself offers us silence and rest, a time during which we

† Translated from PL 68:369–70.

1. Ps 34:8. 2. Ps 1:2.

†† Translated from PLS 3:191–98, where the Latin text is that given by C. Turner, JThSt 24 (1923) 233ff.

celebrate what our words intend to describe. The appropriate occasion for exhorting a soldier is when he is girded for battle; as for sailors, a sea chant suits them when they are applying themselves to the oars and showing respect for the sea. So it is true for us. This is the best time to speak of the usefulness of hymns, now that the people have gathered for this purpose.

II. I know that some—both here among us as well as in the eastern regions—believe that the singing of psalms and hymns is superfluous and less fitting for divine services. They believe it suffices to say a psalm interiorly, holding it wanton to pray the psalm aloud. They base their opinion on what the apostle wrote to the Ephesians, namely, "Be filled with the Spirit as you say psalms and hymns and spiritual songs among yourselves, singing and making melody to God in your hearts."[1] They say, "the apostle says we are to sing in our hearts and not babble aloud as do actors on the stage because it is enough for God, 'who searches the heart,'[2] if we sing silently in our hearts." To be sure, I do not reproach those who sing in their hearts (for it is always useful to meditate in the heart on the things of God). But in like manner I also praise those who aloud glorify God. Before I offer proof from the many books of Scripture, I must first appeal to the very words of the apostle himself to refute the foolishness of those who find there a prescription against singing. As you say, the apostle certainly said, "Be filled with the Spirit."[3] I also believe that he wanted us to open our mouths, loosen our tongues, move our lips since it is impossible for us to "speak" without using these organs; and just as heat is different than cold, so being silent is different than speaking. When he added "speaking in psalms and hymns and songs," he certainly would not have mentioned "songs" if he wanted to say that someone singing was totally silent. No one can sing and at the same time remain completely silent. The apostle said, "in your hearts," thus admonishing us that we are not to sing with the voice only but also with the attention of the "heart," just as elsewhere he says, "Sing with the spirit, sing with the mind also,"[4] namely, with both voice and understanding. [. . .] 3186

It is the heretics who raise objections to singing. Their ardor waning, they simply reject singing. They conceal their disdain for the prophecies concerning God the Creator. Under the guise of an honorable silence they strive to remove the sayings of the prophets and especially the heavenly songs of David. 3187

III. But we, my beloved, we who know the teachings of the prophets, the evangelists, and the apostles, should constantly remember all that has been said and done by those to whom we owe all that we are. Let us rely upon those authors who from the beginning have shown how these "spiritual songs" please God. 3188

1. Eph 5:18–19. 2. Rom 8:27. 3. Eph 5:19. 4. 1 Cor 14:15.

3189 If, however, we ask who was the first person to have introduced this type of singing, we first of all find Moses, who clearly sang a song to God when, after Egypt had been struck by ten plagues and after the Pharaoh had drowned, the people went out into the desert, rejoicing as they did so because they passed through the sea. They said, "Let us sing to the Lord, for he is greatly to be honored."[5] [. . .] And so Moses was the first, being the head of the tribes of Israel, to establish choirs of both men and women, he and his sister being their leaders. He instructed them to sing a triumphant song to God.

3190 Then in the Book of Judges we find Deborah, a woman of high birth, singing.[6] Moses himself, when about to leave this world, repeated this awe-inspiring song as we find related in Deuteronomy.[7] He left this song to be, as it were, a testament to the tribes of Israel so that they might learn what kind of funeral awaits those who reject the Lord. Wretched are they who, having heard such a clear threat, either do not wish to guard themselves against illicit superstitions or are unable to do so.

3191 IV. After this you will find many—not only men but also women, all filled with the divine Spirit—who sang the mysteries of God. They did so even prior to the time of David, who from his youth was especially appointed for this task by the Lord and who deserved to be the master singer and a treasure-trove of songs. While still a youth he, with his agreeable and strong song together with the cithara, overcame the evil spirit at work in Saul[8]—not that the cithara itself possessed any power; no, with its wooden frame and with its attached strings, it was a symbol of Christ's cross. The Passion itself was being sung. Even at that time it was the Passion that overcame the spirit of the devil.

3192 V. Is there anything in the psalms of David that is not useful for the edification and consolation of the human race, no matter what be a person's sex or age? In the psalms an infant receives milk; a child gives praise;[9] an adolescent finds something to correct in his or her ways;[10] young people have a path to follow; the elderly have something for which to pray. A woman learns modesty; orphans find a father; widows, a protector;[11] the poor, someone to look out for them; strangers, a defender. Kings and judges hear what they are to fear. The psalms comfort the sad, restrain the happy, calm the angry, revive the poor, reproach the rich so that they might see themselves as they truly are. The psalms are a fitting medicine for all who receive them. The psalms do not look down upon the sinner but in a healthy way offer a remedy through tearful penance.

3193 The Holy Spirit clearly sees to it that even the most stubborn and impatient of hearts may joyfully and gradually receive these divine words. Human nature generally flees from all that is difficult, even when it is salutary. It rejects difficult things or at least accepts them only when they

5. Exod 15:1. 6. See Judg 5. 7. See Deut 32. 8. See 1 Kgs 16:14–23. 9. See Ps 113:1. 10. See Ps 119:9. 11. See Ps 68:5.

appear to be forbidden. Through David his servant the Lord prepared a medicine for us. It is pleasant to the taste because of its melody, and yet through its power it can heal wounds. When sung, the psalm pleases the ear. It reaches into the soul because it is pleasurable. It is easily remembered because it is frequently sung. What severe laws cannot extract from human hearts is uncovered through the sweetness of song. Like a sweet medicine these songs have within them whatever is commanded by the Law, the prophets, or the Gospels themselves.

VI. God is revealed; idols are mocked. Faith is protected; falsehood is refuted. Justice is brought about; evil is forbidden. Mercy is praised; cruelty is rejected. Truthfulness is required; untruthfulness is condemned. Deceit is blamed; innocence is praised. Pride is cast aside; humility is uplifted. Patience is proclaimed; peace that will follow is sought. Protection against enemies is requested; freedom is promised; certain hope is nourished, and—what is greater than all these—the mysteries of Christ are sung. His birth is indicated; and, rejected by a godless people, he is called the inheritance of the nations.[12] The powers of the Lord are sung; his venerable passion is depicted; his glorious resurrection is pointed out. His "being seated at the right hand"[13] is not omitted. Also the fiery coming of the Lord[14] is shown; his fear-inspiring judgment of the living and the dead is disclosed. And what else? The sending of the creating Spirit and the renewal of the earth[15] are revealed, all being followed by the everlasting kingdom of the just in the Lord's glory and the lasting torment of the wicked. 3194

VII. These are the songs sung by God's Church as well as by this assembly. They do not weaken but rather make secure the singer. They do not give rise to dissipation but rather extinguish it. Can anyone doubt that these songs are pleasing to God since they totally focus on the glory of the Creator. Rightly does the psalmist say, "may every spirit praise the Lord,"[16] for everyone and everything are urged to praise the God who rules over all. The psalmist also says, "I will praise the name of the Lord with song; I will magnify him with thanksgiving"[17]—thus promising that he himself will give praise. He adds, "This will please God more than an ox or a bull with horns and hoofs."[18] Behold what is more excellent! Behold the spiritual sacrifice, greater than all sacrificial victims! And rightly so. The blood of irrational animals was shed in such sacrifices. Here rational praise is offered from the soul and from an upright conscience. Rightly did the Lord say, "A sacrifice of praise will glorify me, and this is the way by which I will show him the salvation of God."[19] Praise the Lord while you are living. "Offer him a sacrifice of praise,"[20] and so spiritually show in your soul how you will attain salvation. 3195

VIII. Praise that flows from an "upright conscience"[21] delights God. And so the same hymn writer exhorts us to "praise the Lord because a psalm is 3196

12. See Ps 2:8. 13. Ps 110:1. 14. See Ps 50:3. 15. See Ps 104:30. 16. Ps 150:6. 17. Ps 69:30. 18. Ps 69:31. 19. Ps 50:23. 20. Ps 50:14. 21. 1 Tim 3:9.

good, and may joyful praise be given to our God."[22] The psalmist, knowing this and not forgetting that such pleases God, testifies, "Seven times a day I have praised you."[23] Even now he promises something more, for he says, "My tongue will meditate on your justice. The whole day long I will praise you."[24] He undoubtedly knew the benefit of such a work since he recalls, "praising I will call upon the Lord, and I will be safe from my enemies."[25] Armed with this protection, armed with such a shield, it was a boy who overcame the power of the giant Goliath and who often triumphed over the invaders.

3197 IX. Beloved, far be it that I speak to you about the history of the individual psalms. What I most especially want to do is to show, based on Old and New Testament evidence, that it is incorrect to believe that the practice of psalmody has now been abrogated just as many other practices of the Old Law have come to an end. Rejected are only things that pertain to the body, namely, circumcision, the Sabbath, sacrifices, dietary restrictions, the use of trumpets, citharas, cymbals, and drums. Replacing these is the musical sound of the human voice. What has clearly ceased and disappeared are the daily washings, lunar observances, burdensome examinations of lepers, and anything else that once was deemed necessary, as if these are something for children. Spiritual things are not diminished but increased as, for example, faith, godliness, prayer, fasting, patience, chastity, the offering of praise.

3198 Therefore in the Gospel you first find Zachary, John's father, who long being silent prophesied by means of a hymn.[26] Nor did Elizabeth, long sterile, cease to "magnify God"[27] in her soul when the Son of promise was born. At the time Christ was born on earth the host of angels sang praise to "God on high" and announced "peace to those of good will on earth,"[28] "The children in the temple area sang 'Hosanna to the Son of David,'"[29] this making the Pharisees grumble with spite. The Lord did not close the mouths of the innocent but rather opened them, saying, "Have you never read what is written, 'Out of the mouths of infants and sucklings you have brought forth praise.'[30] And 'If these will remain silent, the stones will cry out'?"[31] There is no need for me to go on and on. The Lord himself, a teacher and a master in what is both said and done, confirmed that hymn-singing is most pleasing when with his disciples "after singing a hymn, he went out to the Mount of Olives."[32] With such proof, who can doubt the godliness of psalms and hymns since Christ, who is adored and sung to by all the heavenly angels, himself sang a hymn with his disciples?

3199 X. The apostles are known to have done the same afterwards, even when they were in prison. So it was Paul who spoke to the elders of the Church, saying, "When you assemble, one has a psalm, one has a teaching, another a revelation; may everything be done unto edification."[33] Elsewhere he

22. Ps 147:1. 23. Ps 119:164. 24. Ps 35:28. 25. Ps 18:3. 26. See Luke 1:67–79. 27. Luke 1:46. 28. Luke 2:13–14. 29. Matt 21:15. 30. Matt 21:16. 31. Luke 19:40. 32. Matt 26:30. 33. 1 Cor 14:26.

says, "I will sing with the spirit; I will also sing with understanding."[34] And James in his letter writes, "Are any of you sad? Let them pray. Are any in good spirits? Let them sing a psalm."[35] In the Book of Revelation John writes that, when the Spirit revealed itself to him, he saw and heard the voice of the heavenly host "like the sound of many waters and of powerful thunder saying 'Alleluia.'"[36] Wherefore no one should doubt that the practice of singing, if celebrated with worthy faith and devotion, is joined to that of the angels who, not hindered by sleep or other occupations, continuously praise God in heaven and bless our Savior.

XI. Therefore, beloved, may we confidently and faithfully engage in the 3200
singing of hymns, believing that we have been given a very wonderful grace by God, who has permitted us together with so many great saints, prophets, and even martyrs to sing the marvelous deeds of the eternal God. Henceforth with David "we confess" to the Lord "that he is good";[37] with Moses we loudly proclaim in these songs the power of the Lord; with Anna, who is a figure of the Church and who once was sterile but now is fruitful, we strengthen our hearts in praise of God; with Isaiah "we watch throughout the night";[38] with Habakkuk we sing; with Jonah and Jeremiah our most holy fathers we pray by means of song; with the three young men in the furnace we join all creation in praising the Creator of all; with Elizabeth our "soul magnifies the Lord."[39]

XII. Can anything be more useful or more pleasing? We delight in the 3201
psalms; we are nourished by the prayers; we are fed by the readings that come between them. And truly just as guests at a meal take delight in a variety of dishes, so our souls are fed by a great array of readings and hymns.

XIII. Beloved, let us sing attentively and with a mind that is alert, for 3202
the psalm exhorts, "Because God is the ruler of the whole earth, sing wisely."[40] This means that a psalm is sung not only by the "spirit," namely, the sound of the voice, but also "by the mind,"[41] namely, we are to reflect on what we are singing. Nor are distractions to render our labor unfruitful as so often can happen. Also, the sound or the melody that we sing is to be appropriate to the worship of God; it is not to be overemotional but should manifest Christian simplicity. It should not reek of the theater but rather induce those listening to show sorrow for their sins. Our voices should not be discordant but harmonious. One person is not to rush while another drags. One person is not to sing low while another sings high. Rather, all should blend their voices with those of the other singers, not singing more loudly or more slowly than the others so as to show off. Everything is to be done as if in God's sight and not in order to please others. As to the blending of voices, we have a model and example in the three most blessed young men spoken of by Daniel, "Then these three as with one voice praised and glorified God, doing so in the furnace and saying,

34. 1 Cor 14:15. 35. Jas 5:13. 36. Rev 19:6. 37. Ps 136:1. 38. Isa 26:9. 39. Luke 1:46. 40. Ps 47:7. 41. 1 Cor 14:15.

'Blessed are you, God of our fathers.'"[42] It was for our instruction that the three together praised the Lord as if "with one voice" so that all of us may modulate our own voices in like manner. As to those who are unable to sing in harmony with others, it is better that they sing very softly rather than overwhelming all who are singing—in this way carrying out their service and not disrupting the assembly's song—since not all possess an adaptable and musical voice.

3203 Also, blessed Cyprian invited Donatus, whom he knew to be a good singer, to undertake this task. "May we spend in joy whatever remains of this day so that the time for meals not be lacking in heavenly grace. May the temperate meal resound with the psalms. Since your memory is strong and your voice is melodious, may you undertake this task as you usually do. You will nourish your dear friends if you allow us to listen to something spiritual. Religious charm entices the ears."[a] Those who sing well have a certain grace which incites the ears of those listening to the things of God. This is also true for our voices, provided they are not harsh and are in tune with the sound of "well-played cymbals."[43] Voices such as these will please us and will edify those listening, and our whole praise will be agreeable to God, who "in his house," as we read, "makes all of one manner to dwell with him."[44]

3204 Therefore when there is singing, all are to sing. When there are prayers, all are to pray. When there is a reading, all are to be silent so that they may listen. No person is to pray so loudly as to disturb another who is at prayer. If you enter during the reading, adore the Lord and, having signed your forehead, listen carefully to what is being read.

3205 XIV. Obviously the time for prayer is when all are praying. It is also evident that the time for private prayer is whenever you wish to pray and as often as you so wish. But under the pretext of praying do not miss the reading because you can always easily pray but you cannot always have a reading to which you can listen. Do not believe that you gain little from a holy reading. Certainly prayer becomes sweeter to those who listen if the mind has recently been nourished by the readings, if it can meditate on the divine things that have just been heard. For Martha's sister Mary, "sitting at the feet of Jesus" and paying no attention to her sister, more attentively heard what Jesus was saying and thus chose the "better part" as we are assured by the Lord.[45] And so the deacon, like a herald, clearly warns all that they are to be one, whether they be praying or kneeling or singing or listening to the readings. The reason is that the Lord loves those who act together and, as was said earlier, "he has them dwell in his house."[46]

3206 The psalm proclaims that those who dwell in his house "are blessed because they will praise the Lord forever."[47] Amen.

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a. Letter to Donatus (WEC 1:506).

42. Dan 3:51–52. 43. Ps 150:5. 44. Ps 68:7. 45. Luke 10:39, 42. 46. Ps 84:4. 47. Ibid.

Chapter X

Fifth Century. East

ASIA MINOR

131. PALLADIUS OF HELENOPOLIS

Palladius, surely the most informative and noted historian of early Egyptian monasticism, was born ca. 363 or 364 in Galatia, a Roman province in Asia Minor. Traveling to Egypt, he passed several years visiting various types of monks and monastic establishments in both Upper and Lower Egypt. Eventually returning to Asia Minor ca. 400, he was made bishop of Helenopolis in Bithynia. As a disciple and close friend of John Chrysostom (WEC 2:74), Palladius was forced into exile, these years being spent at Syene on the Egyptian border. Allowed to return to his homeland, he apparently became bishop of the little town of Aspuna in Galatia. Palladius's death occurred between 420 and 430.

CPG 3: nos. 6036ff. * Altaner (1961) 254–55 * Altaner (1966) 238–40 * Bardenhewer (1913) 4:148–55 * Hamell 123 * Quasten 3:176–80 * Steidle 262–63 * Tixeront 181–82 * CATH 10:475–78 * CE 11:425–26 * DACL 13.1:912–30 * DCB 4:173–76 * DictSp 12.1:113–26 * DPAC 2:2589–90 * DTC 11.2:1823–30 * EC 9:641 * EEC 2:636–37 * EEChr 2:859 * LTK 7:1297–98 * NCE 10:927–28 * NCES 10:805–6 * ODCC 1210–11 * PEA (1894) 18.1:203–7 * PEA (1991) 9:193

131-A. The Lausiac History of the Friends of God†

This history of the Egyptian monks (the "friends of God"), both male and female, was dedicated to a certain Lausus, the chief chamberlain of Theodosius II (WEC 3:134). Written ca. 419/420, the intent of the book is spiritual edification. Although reports of wonderful happenings are not absent, the author is generally considered as giving an accurate account of monastic life in Egypt, Palestine, Syria, and Asia Minor. The work has come down to us in Latin, Greek, and several Oriental languages.

† Translated from E.C. Butler, *The Lausiac History of Palladius: A Critical Discussion Together with Notes on Early Egyptian Monasticism*, Texts and Studies 6 (Hildesheim, 1967) 26ff.

3207 VII. [. . .] All these [the monks at Mount Nitria in Egypt] engage in manual labor, making linen. In this way each monk is self-supporting. At about the ninth hour one can stand and hear the divine psalmody issuing forth from each cell and imagine that one is high above in paradise. Only on Saturdays and Sundays is the church used. Eight priests are in charge of it, but only the senior priest celebrates and preaches. None of the others do so. They simply sit next to him. [. . .]

3208 XXXII. [. . .] He [Pachomius[a]] commanded that the monks pray twelve prayers each day and twelve at the time they light the lamps; during the night devotions they say twelve prayers; three at the ninth hour. And when the monks were preparing to eat, he commanded them to sing a psalm before each prayer. [. . .]

3209 XXXIII. In addition to these [the male monks] there was also a monastery with some four hundred women. [. . .] They resided on one side of the river, the men on the other side. Upon a virgin's death the other virgins prepared her body for burial. They carried it and placed it on the bank of the river, which the monks would cross by means of a ferry. Then, bearing palm leaves and olive branches, they take the body and bury it in the common cemetery.

3210 No one goes over to the women's monastery other than a priest and deacon, who do so only on Sunday.

131-B. Dialogue on the Life of Saint John Chrysostom[†]

Written ca. 408 and supposedly taking place at Rome, this treatise is in the form of a dialogue between an Oriental bishop and the Roman deacon Theodore defending John Chrysostom (WEC 2:74) against accusations made by Theophilus, the archbishop of Alexandria (385–412) and one of Chrysostom's most bitter enemies.

3211 V. [. . .] Then he [John Chrysostom] urged the people to show zeal in being present for prayers at night. Yet the women he invited to pray at home during the day when their husbands had no time for prayer. All these entreaties were resented by the members of the clergy who customarily spent the whole night in bed. [. . .]

3212 VIII. [. . .] Two deacons had, in fact, been removed by Bishop John from the Church for immoral conduct. Theophilus, seeking to profit from their weakness, urged them to come up with accusations against John. [. . .] These charges contained nothing true except that John urged everyone to take some water or a small piece of bread after Communion, thus ensuring that no one would unwittingly discharge part of the sacrament with saliva or phlegm. [. . .]

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a. Pachomius (ca. 290–346): founder of Egyptian cenobite monasticism (WEC 2:86).

† Translated from *Dialogue sur la vie de Jean Chrysostome. Palladius*, vol. 1, ed. A.-M. Malingrey and P. Leclercq, SChr 341 (Paris, 1988) 124–25, 162–63.

132. PHILOSTORGIUS

Philostorgius, an Arian church historian, was born ca. 368 in Borissus in Cappadocia. A layman and a scholar, he spent much of his life in Constantinople, although making journeys to Palestine and Antioch. Little is known of his life. Philostorgius died ca. 425.

CPG 3: no. 6032 * Altaner (1961) 274 * Altaner (1966) 226 * Bardenhewer (1913) 4:132–35 * Bautz 7:539–40 * Quasten 3:530–32 * Steidle 254–55 * Tixeront 146 * DCB 4:390 * DPAC 1:1374–76 * DTC 12.2:1495–98 * EC 7:1367–68 * EEC 2:683–84 * EEChr 2:918 * LTK 8:260–61 * NCE 11:323–24 * NCES 11:307 * ODCC 1281 * PEA (1894) 20.1:119–22 * PEA (1991) 9:887

132-A. Epitome of the Church History of Philostorgius†

Unfortunately the full text of Philostorgius's history, in twelve books covering the years 300–425, has been lost, although fragments and excerpts do remain. There is also this epitome redacted by Photius of Constantinople (ca. 810–ca. 895).

II.XIII. He [Philostorgius] says that when the ruling despot denied the 3213
martyr Lucian[a] just before his martyrdom access to a church or to an altar and when confining chains and wounds would not allow Lucian to move, he laid flat upon his back and offered the awesome sacrifice upon his own chest. He received [Communion] from it and allowed others to receive from the spotless sacrifice. This took place in prison where the gathering of holy Christians standing around the man who for all purposes was dying was a figure of the Church. They also served as a screen preventing the godless from viewing what was taking place.

133. SOCRATES

Socrates (*Socrates Scholasticus*) was born ca. 380 at Constantinople. Few details are known of his life. A layman, he studied biblical exegesis and then law. His year of death was sometime after 439.

CPG 3: no. 6028 * Altaner (1961) 274 * Altaner (1966) 226–27 * Bardenhewer (1908) 378–79 * Bardenhewer (1910) 270 * Bardenhewer (1913) 3:137–41 * Bautz 10:756 * Hamell 123 * Jurgens 3:249–52 * Quasten 3:532–34 * Steidle 255 * Tixeront 181 * CATH 14:193 * CE 14:118–19 * DCB 4:709–11 * DPAC 2:3248–50 * DTC 14.2:2334–36 * EC 11:883 * EEC 2:785 * EEChr 2:1076 * LTK 9:699–700 * NCE 13:408–9 * NCES 13:293 * ODCC 1513 * PEA (1894) 3.1 (n.s.) 893–901 * PEA (1991) 11:687–88

† Translated from PG 65:475–76.

a. Lucian: a priest of Antioch martyred at Nicomedia in 312.

133-*A*. Church History†

Intended to continue the work of Eusebius of Caesarea (WEC 2:81-A), the seven books of this history cover the years 305 (abdication of Diocletian) to 439 (the seventeenth consulate of Theodosius II). Each book is devoted to the various events, both religious and secular, that occurred under each emperor. Source material includes oral history as well as the writings of such authors as Rufinus (WEC 3:105), Gelasius of Caesarea, etc. Often quoted verbatim are original documents. The work as it has come down to us is a second edition, the first being rewritten to correct certain errors.

3214 I.x. [. . .] Constantine asked Acesius[a] whether he would agree to this faith and what was prescribed regarding the day for celebrating the feast of the Pasch. The latter replied, "The council has defined nothing new here. Even from the beginning, from apostolic times, I have received what faith prescribes as well as the time handed down for celebrating the feast of the Pasch."

3215 Once again the emperor questioned him, "Why, then, do you refrain from Communion?" Acesius, recalling what occurred during the Decian persecution,[b] referred to the force of the strict rule forbidding the baptized who have sinned—the Scriptures speak of the "sin leading to death"[1]—to share in the divine mysteries; rather, they should be urged to do penance and to hope for reconciliation, not given by priests but by God, who alone has the right and power to forgive sins.

3216 When Acesius said this, the emperor added, "Acesius, set up a ladder and alone ascend into heaven." [. . .]

3217 II.xi. [. . .] I should here speak about Athanasius,[c] who, when he was expelled from the church, escaped the hands of those wishing to capture him.

3218 It was evening, and the people were keeping watch in the church in anticipation of a service. Suddenly the commander arrived, gave instructions to his soldiers, and had them surround the building. When Athanasius saw this, he gave thought as to how the people might be kept from further harm on his account. He commanded the deacon to inform the faithful that they should pray; he immediately ordered a psalm to be sung. Once the people began their melodious song, all departed, exiting through one of the church doors. Meanwhile, the troops merely looked on, doing nothing. As the crowd was singing the psalms, Athanasius escaped, passing

† Translated from PG 67:99ff.

a. Acesius: an early fourth-century Novatianist bishop of Constantinople, present at the Council of Nicaea (WEC 2:71-C).

b. The Decian persecution began in 249 and concluded in June 251 when Decius was killed in battle.

c. Athanasius: anti-Arian bishop (328–73) of Alexandria (WEC 2:90).

1. 1 John 5:17.

among them unharmed. Freed from impending danger, he went to Rome. [. . .]

II.XLIII. [. . .] Eustathius[d] did many things contrary to the Church's laws. He prohibited marriage and taught that meat should not be eaten. Thus he separated many married people from their spouses. Those who avoided assembling in church he persuaded to gather at home. Under the pretext of godliness he separated servants from their masters. He wore the garment of a philosopher and commanded his followers to wear new and unusual garb. He said that a woman's hair was to be cropped. He allowed the prescribed fasts to be neglected and commanded that a fast be observed on Sundays. He forbade prayers to be said in the houses of the married. To be avoided as a likeness of evil, he said, was to be blessed by or to have fellowship with any married presbyter who married his wife while he was a layman. [. . .] 3219

IV.XXVIII. At about this time the Novatians[e] living in Phrygia[f] changed the day for observing the feast of the Pasch. How this came about I shall briefly discuss. But first I must explain the rule and discipline that exist in the provinces of Phrygia and Paphlagonia.[g] 3220

Novatian, a presbyter of the Roman church, separated himself from it because Cornelius[h] the bishop received into communion the faithful who had offered sacrifice during the Decian persecution against the Church. For this reason Novatian, afterwards being raised to the episcopacy by bishops of a similar mind, wrote to all the churches, saying that they should not admit to the sacred mysteries those who had sacrificed to the idols. They were to be urged to do penance, leaving to God the forgiveness of their crimes, for God has the power to remit all evil deeds. 3221

These letters were sent to all the provinces. In this matter each province judged according to its own custom. According to Novatian, those who after baptism commit a deadly sin should not be admitted to the fellowship of the sacraments. Some understood this rule to be bitter and harsh. Others received it as being just and especially useful for promoting discipline. Now while this was being debated, letters arrived from Cornelius, the bishop of Rome, in which forgiveness was promised to those sinning after baptism. Thus Novatian and Cornelius wrote against the other; each using the Sacred Scriptures to prove his own opinion. As customary 3222

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d. Eustathius (ca. 300–ca. 380): bishop of Sebastie in Armenia.

e. Novatians: members of a highly rigorist yet orthodox Christian community whose name is taken from the Roman cleric Novatian (d. 257/258), who, disappointed with the papal election of Cornelius in 251, joined this community, had himself ordained bishop, and became a rival of Cornelius as bishop of Rome.

f. Phrygia: a region located in what is now northern Turkey.

g. Paphlagonia: a Roman province in Asia Minor bordering on the Black Sea.

h. Cornelius: bishop of Rome 251–53.

in such cases, each espoused a position that already agreed with his preexisting dispositions. [. . .]

3223 It was for the sake of stricter discipline that Novatian became a separatist. However, in no way did he change the feast of the Pasch. He always followed what was observed in the West. Furthermore, the Novatians celebrate the feast after the equinox according to the custom handed down from antiquity when they first became Christians. Novatian himself was martyred when Christians were persecuted during the reign of Valerian.[i] It was about this time that the Novatians living in Phrygia and who were opposed to communion with other Christians even in this regard changed the day for celebrating the Pasch. This was done by a few obscure bishops who gathered at a synod in the town of Pazo, located at the headwaters of the river Sangarius.[j] It was there that they enacted a rule that the Pasch be observed on the same day on which the Jews each year celebrate the Passover.[k] [. . .]

3224 IV.xxx. [. . .] Upon the death of Auxentius,[l] whom the Arians[m] had ordained bishop of the Church in Milan, the people were again in an uproar as to electing his successor. There was great contention since some people favored one candidate; others favored another. For this reason there was great strife in the city. In the midst of all this Ambrose,[n] the governor of the province and of consular rank, feared that the people's tumult would come to a dreadful end. He hurried to the city that he might quell the disturbance. Upon his arrival, the people settled down. He gave a long and useful speech which calmed the mad fury of the crowd, urging the people to do what they believed was right. Suddenly all reached a unanimous agreement, crying out that Ambrose himself was worthy to be made bishop and demanding that he be ordained, for it was only in this way, they said, that the peace of the Church would be preserved and that all would be united in the same faith and judgment. The bishops who were present believed that such unity among the people was of divine origin, and they immediately imposed hands on Ambrose. He—still a catechumen—was baptized. They wanted to raise him to the episcopate. Although Ambrose willingly allowed himself to be baptized, he steadfastly refused ordination. Thereupon the bishops referred the matter to Emperor Valentinian.[o] This leader, viewing the people's unanimous consent as

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i. Valerian (*Publicus Licinius Valerianus*): Roman emperor 253–60.

j. Sangarius: a river in Asia Minor flowing into the Black Sea.

k. This is also related by Sozomen, *Church History* VI.xxiv (WEC 3:3898).

l. Auxentius: Arian bishop of Milan 355–74.

m. Arians: those following a doctrine propagated by Arius (ca. 260–336), a priest in Alexandria, who denied the unity and consubstantiality of the three persons of the Trinity and consequently the full divinity of Christ, a doctrine condemned by the Council of Nicaea in 325.

n. Ambrose: bishop of Milan 373/374–97 (WEC 2:53).

o. Valentinian: Roman emperor of the West 364–75.

something divine, told the bishops to carry out God's will by ordaining Ambrose, declaring that Ambrose was chosen more by the voice of God than by human election. And so Ambrose was ordained. The citizens of Milan, once greatly divided among themselves, were again restored to unity.[p]

V.XIX. At this time it was judged necessary to abolish those presbyters 3225
of the churches who were in charge of the penitents. This was done for the following reason. After the Novatians had separated themselves from the Church because they did not desire to associate with those who lapsed during the Decian persecution, the bishops added to the ecclesiastical rolls a presbyter of penance so that those who lapsed after baptism might confess their sins before a presbyter appointed for this purpose. This rule is still in force among other religious groups. Only the Homoousians[q] and the followers of Novatian who share their teaching have rejected the benefit of the penitentiary presbyter. From the beginning the Novatians did not allow this addition. The Homoousians, who now possess the churches, retained this institution for a long time but rejected it at the time of Nectarius the bishop,[r] doing so because of a terrible deed that was committed in a church.

A certain noble woman went to a penitentiary presbyter and confessed 3226
the sins she had committed after baptism. The presbyter commanded that she fast and pray continually so that, acknowledging her wrongdoing, she might demonstrate that she was indeed doing penance. Sometime afterwards she again came, confessing that a deacon of the Church had the custom of sleeping with her. Once she related this, the deacon was ejected from the Church, and the people became highly disturbed. They were indignant not only because of the evil deed that took place but also because of the great harm and harsh disgrace this inflicted upon the Church. One result was that the ecclesiastics were taunted and attacked. And so Eudaemon, a presbyter of the Church and a native of Alexandria, persuaded Bishop Nectarius to do away with the penitentiary presbyter. Each person was to follow his or her own judgment and conscience in regard to participating in the holy mysteries. It could only be in this way that the Church would be free from all reproach.[s] [. . .]

V.XXI. Marcian promoted Sabbatius, a convert from Judaism, to the dig- 3227
nity of the presbyterate. Sabbatius, however, eagerly devoted himself to

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p. A description of this incident is also found in Theodoret of Cyr, *Church History* IV.VI (WEC 3:3516–17), as well as in Sozomen, *Church History* VI.XXIV (WEC 3:3897).

q. Homoousians: a term designating the opponents of Arianism who professed the Nicene Creed with its expression *"homoousios."*

r. Nectarius: bishop of Constantinople 381–97.

s. Another description is given by Sozomen, *Church History* VII.XVI (WEC 3:3901–3).

the doctrine of the Jews in which he was formerly educated. Furthermore, he wanted to be made a bishop. Joining to himself two presbyters, namely, Theoctistus and Macarius, who were aware of his ambitions, he determined to defend the solemnity of the paschal feast which the Novatians at the time of Valens Augustus[t] changed, as I wrote earlier, in the town of Pazo in Phrygia. First, under the guise of following a more austere life he withdrew from the Church, saying he was distressed because he suspected some members of the Church were participating in the mysteries unworthily. In time his objective became clear, namely, his purpose was to hold separate assemblies. Once Marcian realized this, he blamed himself for wrongly ordaining to the presbyterate men so full of vain glory. Often did he say that he should have imposed hands on thorns rather than to have placed them on Sabbatius. Further, he saw to it that a synod of Novatian bishops took place at Angarum, a market town near Helenopolis in Bithynia.[u] The bishops who gathered there summoned Sabbatius and ordered him to explain to the synod the reason for his distress. He said that disagreement concerning the paschal feast was the cause of his distress, and that this feast should be celebrated according to the custom of the Jews and that the rule promulgated by the synod of Pazo should be observed. The bishops at Helenopolis, suspecting this to be a mere pretext to conceal his desire for the episcopacy, had him swear that he would never accept any episcopal honor. After he took this oath, the bishops passed a rule about the paschal feast; it is called "*adiaphoron*" namely, "indifferent." It states that disagreement concerning the day of the paschal feast should not be so great as to lead any to separate themselves from the Church; nor did those who gathered at Pazo do anything harmful to the Catholic and universal rule. The ancients and those who lived close to the times of the apostles differed concerning this feast; nonetheless, they were in communion with each other, there being no dissension whatsoever. Furthermore, the Novatians living in Rome never followed Jewish custom, for they always observed the Pasch after the equinox. Nor did they separate themselves from the rest of the faithful who did not celebrate the feast on this day. Carefully examining this and similar reasons, they enacted the "indifferent" canon, as I said, regarding the Pasch: one is freely allowed to celebrate the Pasch as one is accustomed, as each so desires. Doing so involves no disagreement in communion. Even though celebrating the feast differently, all remained in the unity and harmony of the Church. Once this regulation concerning the day of the paschal feast was enacted, Sabbatius, bound by the oath he had taken, anticipated the fast in private and then celebrated the Pasch. Then, keeping watch throughout the night of the great Sabbath, at daybreak he gathered in the church with the others and with them participated in the mysteries. He did so for many years and

t. Valens Augustus: emperor of the East 364–78.

u. Bithynia: a region in what is now northwest Turkey.

thus could not escape notice by the people. Some of the people, the more ignorant and primarily the Phrygians and Galatians,[v] believed that they would be justified by following his example. And so they began to imitate Sabbatius and, as he did, they celebrated the Pasch in secret.[w]

V.xxii. Now that we have referred to the paschal feast, I believe it op- 3228
portune to say a few more words about it. It seems to me that neither the ancients nor the more recent who strove to follow Jewish custom had a fitting reason to dispute at such length concerning this feast. They failed to consider that once the Jewish religion was exchanged for Christianity, the strict observance of the Mosaic Law was abrogated together with the various figures of things to come. This can be shown by the strongest of arguments, for there is no law of Christ saying that Christians are to observe Jewish rites. The apostle clearly forbids this. He not only rejects circumcision but also forbids arguments concerning feast days. He says to the Galatians, "Tell me, all who desire to be under the Law, have you not heard the Law?"[2] Saying little about this, he shows that the Jewish people were in slavery whereas the followers of Christ are called to freedom. He urges them not to observe "days, months, or years."[3] Also, writing to the Colossians he clearly says that such observances are only shadows. "Let no one therefore judge you in meat or in drink or in respect to a feast day or of the new moon or of the Sabbath, all these being shadows of future things."[4] He confirms this in his letter to the Hebrews where he says, "For the priesthood being translated, it is necessary that a translation be made of the Law."[5] To be sure, neither the apostle nor the Gospels have ever imposed the yoke of slavery on those who proclaim the faith. They have left the day of the Pasch and other feast days to be observed according to the free will and fairness of those who have received the benefits of these days. Therefore because people love feasts, because such days free us from labor, so each person in each place—as each so desires—celebrates the memory of the saving Passion according to one's particular custom. Neither the Savior nor the apostles gave any law prescribing that we observe this feast. Neither do the Gospels nor the apostles threaten us with any fine, punishment, or harm as the Mosaic Law does for the Jews. It is only for the sake of history and for the reproach of the Jews, who on their feasts defiled themselves with blood, that the Gospels tell us that our Savior suffered on the days of the unleavened bread. The purpose of the apostles was not to enact laws regarding feast days but to show us how to lead a good life, how to attain true godliness. It seems to me that just as many other practices developed in various places, so also the paschal feast

v. Galatia: a Roman province in what is now Turkey and centering around modern Ankara.

w. Another description is given by Sozomen, *Church History* VI.xviii (WEC 3:3905–6).

2. Gal 4:21. 3. Gal 4:10. 4. Col 2:26. 5. Heb 7:12.

was celebrated in each place according to the particular custom of that particular people since no apostle, as I said, legislated concerning it. Facts themselves show that the paschal observance from earliest times was a question of usage rather than of law.

3229 In Asia Minor many people of old, neglecting the Sabbath, observed the fourteenth day. These, however, never separated themselves from those who celebrated the Pasch differently till Victor,[x] the bishop of Rome, inflamed with excessive anger, sent a letter of excommunication to the Quartodecimans[y] in Asia. So it was that Irenaeus,[z] bishop of Lyons in Gaul, wrote to Victor, greatly reproaching him for his excessive behavior, and informing him that although the ancients differed in their celebration of the Pasch, they did not divorce themselves from those doing differently.[aa]

3230 Furthermore, Polycarp,[bb] the bishop of Smyrna who afterwards was martyred under Gordian,[cc] continued to be in communion with Anicetus,[dd] the bishop of Rome, although Polycarp, as Eusebius tells us in the fifth book of his *Church History*,[ee] kept the Pasch on the fourteenth day.

3231 Therefore some in Asia Minor observed the fourteenth day whereas others in the East observed it on the Sabbath but differed regarding the month. The former believed they should follow Jewish custom even though they did not do so exactly; the latter, refusing to celebrate with the Jews, observed the Pasch after the equinox since, as they said, it should be celebrated when the sun is in Aries, in the month called Xanthicus in Antioch and called April in Rome. Doing so, they contended, they were not conforming to the present-day Jews who err in just about everything but to the Jews of old and to what Josephus[ff] has written in the third book of his *Jewish Antiquities*. Thus these people differed among themselves.

3232 All other Christians in the West, and as far as the ocean itself extends, celebrate Easter after the equinox, doing so according to a very old tradition. They have never disagreed with one another in this regard. It is not true—as some have suggested—that the council under Constantine changed this feast. When Constantine wrote to those whose practice differed, he recommended that they, being few in number, could agree with

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x. Victor: bishop of Rome 189–98.

y. Quartodecimans: Christians who always celebrated the Christian Pasch on the 14 Nisan no matter the day of the week, and not on Sunday.

z. Irenaeus: bishop of Lyons ca. 178–ca. 200 (WEC 1:15).

aa. Citations from this letter are given in Eusebius, *Church History* V.XXIV (WEC 2:2017–22).

bb. Polycarp (ca. 69–ca. 155): bishop of Smyrna, now Izmir on the west coast of Turkey (WEC 1:12).

cc. Socrates is mistaken here since Gordian was emperor 238–44.

dd. Anicetus: bishop of Rome ca. 154–ca. 166.

ee. *Church History* V.XXIV.6 (WEC 2:2016).

ff. Josephus: Jewish historian (37–ca. 100).

the majority. This letter is found in the third book of the *Life of Constantine* by Eusebius. The relevant passage is as follows.[gg] [. . .]

Additionally, the Quartodecimans assert that they received the observance of the fourteenth day from the apostle John; on the other hand, the Romans and others in the West assure us that they received their observance from the apostles Peter and Paul. Yet neither group can adduce any written evidence to support their respective positions. Since the observance of the Pasch in various places depends on usage, I infer from this that those who agree in faith can differ among themselves in regard to practice. 3233

It will not perhaps be inopportune to mention here the diversity of practices existing among Christians. 3234

People in Rome fast three consecutive weeks before the Pasch, except on Saturday and Sunday. People in Illyrica[hh] and throughout Greece and Alexandria fast for six weeks, calling this the "forty day fast." Still others extend their fast from the seventh week before the Pasch and fast thirty-five days only and at intervals, and yet call this a "forty day fast." It surprises me that people, differing in the number of days they observe, give the fast one and the same name, some assigning one reason for it whereas others have a different reason, all as they wish. 3235

In addition to the number of days there is also a disagreement as to the way a person fasts from food. Some refrain from living things; others eat only fish from among all living creatures; many eat fowl with the fish, saying that according to Moses fowl were made from the water. Some do not eat eggs or fruit of any kind; others take only dry bread; others do not even do this; still others, fasting till the ninth hour, then eat any kind of food. Other practices are found among the various nations and for these all kinds of reasons are given. Since no person can show a written order upon which to base his or her authority, obviously the apostles allow us to follow personal desire so that each may do what is good without any constraint or necessity. These are the differences existing among the churches in regard to fasting. 3236

There is no less variation in regard to the assembly. Although almost all the world's churches celebrate the holy mysteries each week on the Sabbath, nonetheless, Christians in Alexandria and in Rome, due to a very old tradition, have ceased doing so. The Egyptians near Alexandria and those living in Thebae[ii] gather on the Sabbath and yet do not participate in the mysteries as is customarily done by Christians generally, for after having eaten and satisfied themselves with all sorts of food, in the evening they make their offerings and share in the mysteries. Again at Alexandria on 3237

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gg. This letter is not included in WEC's excerpts from the *Life of Constantine*. Rather, the letter is found in Theodoret of Cyr, *Church History* I.IX (WEC 3:3507–9).

hh. Illyrica: a Roman province located in what is now the Balkan Peninsula.

ii. Thebae: a city located in southern Egypt on the Nile south of modern Qena.

Wednesday in Passion Week and on Good Friday the Scriptures are read, the teachers explain them, and all the customary services are carried out by the assembly except the celebration of the mysteries. This practice in Alexandria is very old. [. . .]

3238 I have also heard of another peculiarity that exists in Thessalonica,[jj] namely, it is only at Easter that they baptize; consequently, a large number of people die without having been baptized.

3239 At Antioch in Syria the orientation of the church is inverted, with the altar facing the west and not the east.

3240 In Greece, in Jerusalem, and in Thessaly[kk] the people go to pray as soon as the candles are lighted as do the Novatians at Constantinople. At Caesarea[ll] likewise and in Cappadocia[mm] and in Cyprus the presbyters and bishops explain the Scriptures in the evening after the lighting of the candles.

3241 The Novatians in Hellespont[nn] do not pray as do the Novatians in Constantinople; in most things, however, their practice is similar to that of the prevailing church. In short, it is impossible to find among the sects any two churches that exactly agree regarding the way they pray.

3242 At Alexandria no presbyter may speak to the people, a restriction made after Arius caused so great a disturbance in that church.

3243 At Rome people fast every Saturday.

3244 At Caesarea in Cappadocia those who sin after baptism are excluded from Communion, as is done by the Novatians. The same is practiced by the Macedonians[oo] in Hellespont and by the Quartodecimans in Asia. [. . .]

3245 To give a complete listing of all the ritual usages found in every city and country would be difficult if not impossible. However, the cases we have cited are sufficient to show that the paschal feast was from ancient precedent celebrated differently in each province. Those who assert that the time for observing the Pasch was changed at the Council of Nicaea speak foolishly, for the bishops who gathered there attempted to reduce the first dissenting minority to a uniformity of practice with the rest of the people. [. . .]

3246 VI.VIII. [. . .] As I said previously, the Arians gathered outside the city. Each week—when feast days occurred, namely Saturday and the Lord's Day, on which assemblies are customarily held in the churches—they gathered within the city's gates in the public squares and in antiphonal

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jj. Thessalonica: today Salonika, a city in northern Greece.

kk. Thessaly: a region in eastern Greece bordering on the Aegean Sea.

ll. Caesarea: an ancient seaport in Palestine.

mm. Cappadocia: a district in eastern Asia Minor.

nn. Hellespont: the strait connecting the Black Sea with the Aegean Sea.

oo. Macedonians: from ca. 380 a term referring to those who, though not Arians, refused to acknowledge the divinity of the Holy Spirit.

fashion sang songs reflecting the Arian heresy, doing so throughout most of the night. They did likewise in the morning, singing these same antiphons. They processed through the city and, arriving outside its gates, they proceeded to the place where they celebrated their rites. But because they did not cease from using insulting words when referring to the Homoousians—often singing "Where are those who say three things are one power?" John [Chrysostom],[pp] fearing that the more simple would become estranged from the Church by songs of this type, set in opposition to the Arians some of his own Catholic people. He did so in order that they, also engaged in singing nocturnal hymns, would overshadow the efforts of the Arians and strengthen his own people in professing the true faith. Because the nocturnal hymns of the Homoousians appeared to be sung with more display—silver crosses were invented by John and on them lighted tapers were carried, with Eudoxia Augusta[qq] providing money for their cost. And so the Arians, numerous and full of anger, determined to obtain revenge by attacking their rivals. Remembering how they recently dominated, they were confident they could struggle in this way, easily overcoming their enemies. And so one night without delay they fought. Briso, a eunuch of Augusta and in charge of the singers of these hymns, was struck on the forehead by a rock. Moved by this, the emperor commanded the Arians not to continue singing hymns in public.[rr] [. . .]

Now, however, we must now say something as to the origin of the 3247
Church's custom of singing in alternation. Ignatius,[ss] the bishop of Antioch in Syria, the third from the apostle Peter, also had dealings with the apostles themselves. In a vision he saw the angels alternating chants with the Holy Trinity. And so he introduced to the church at Antioch the form of singing he had seen in this vision, and from here tradition passed this practice on to all the other churches. This is what we have been told regarding these hymns.

VII.xxii. [. . .] The emperor[tt] would fast most frequently, especially on 3248
Wednesday and Friday. He did this in order to accurately observe the rites of the Christian religion. He so arranged life within his palace that it differed but little from the life followed in a monastery. In early morning he sang in alternation with his sisters hymns in praise of God. Consequently he memorized the books of Holy Scripture, and like a veteran priest he discussed them with the bishops who came to see him. [. . .]

One year when the weather was very bad, the pleading of the people 3249
forced him to stage the accustomed games in the circus. When the circus

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pp. John Chrysostom: bishop, orator, theologian (WEC 2:74).

qq. Eudoxia Augusta (d. 404): wife of the Roman emperor Arcadius.

rr. Another account of this is found in Sozomen, *Church History* VIII.viii (WEC 3:3926).

ss. Ignatius: bishop of Antioch ca. 69–ca. 107 (WEC 1:9).

tt. Namely, Theodosius II, Roman emperor of the East 408–50 (WEC 3:134).

was full of spectators, the weather became worse, a heavy snow beginning to fall. It was then that the emperor clearly showed how he was affected by God. Through a herald he told the people, "It is much better that we forgo the games and that all of us make supplication to God so that we may be saved from the imminent storm." The herald had hardly announced this when all the people in the circus immediately began to beseech God and sing hymns. In this way the whole city was seen to be an image of the same Church. The emperor himself in his ordinary garb went among the people where he led the hymn-singing. [. . .]

134. THEODOSIUS II

Theodosius II was emperor in the East from 408–50, and is noted not only for his weakness of character and support of Monophysitism (which held the doctrine that in the incarnate Christ there was but one nature) but also for having summoned the Council of Ephesus in 431 and for commissioning the *Theodosian Code.*

CPL no. 1795 * Altaner (1961) 293 * Altaner (1966) 254 * Bautz 11:994–96 * CATH 14:999–1000 * DCB 4:964–67 * DDC 7:1215–46 * DPAC 2:3398 * EC 11:1944–45 * EEC 2:829 * EEChr 2:1120 * LTK 9:1422 * NCE 14:24–25 * ODCC 1602

G. Fowden, "Bishops and Temples in the Eastern Roman Empire A.D. 320–435," JThSt, n.s., 29 (1978) 53–78.

134-A. Theodosian Code[†]

This collection of Roman imperial decrees—sections of the work are unfortunately missing—was assembled and edited in 429 and 435. Published in 438, its sixteen books, with laws arranged according to topics, begin with legislation issued in 312. One of the main concerns of the work is orthodoxy.

3250 XV.v.5. (1 February 425). The same Augustus[a] and Valentinian Caesar[b] to Asclepiodatus, Praetorian Prefect.[c]

On the Lord's Day, this being the first day of the week, on Christ's Nativity and Epiphany, on Easter, on Pentecost, for as long as the garments[d] imitating the light of the heavenly washing gives testimony to the new

[†] Translated from *Theodosiani Libri XVI cum Constitutionibus Simondianis et Leges Novellae ad Theodosianum Pertinentes*, ed. Th. Mommensen and P.M. Meyer, 3rd ed. (Berlin, 1962) 820, 880–81.

a. Augustus: namely, Theodosius II, emperor in the East 408–50.

b. Valentinian Caesar: emperor in the West 425–55.

c. Praetorian Prefect: the Roman official who at this time was head of the civil and juridical administration of the empire.

d. Garments: the white robes worn by the newly baptized after baptism.

light of holy baptism, also when the apostolic passion[e] is commemorated this being the teacher of all Christianity—on these occasions all that pertains to the theater and the circus will be denied to the people in all the cities; for the minds of Christians and of all the faithful are to be focused on divine worship.

XVI.VI.6. (20 February 373). Emperors Valentinian[f] and Valens[g] Augustuses to Julianus Proconsul[h] of Africa. 3251

We judge unworthy of the priesthood any bishop who repeats holy baptism, doing so unlawfully and against all that has been established, and who, by such a repetition, contaminates its grace.

XVI.VI.2. (17 October 377). Emperor Valens[i] Gratian,[j] and Valentinian[k] Augustuses to Florianus, Vicar[l] of Asia. 3252

We condemn the error of those who trample on the apostolic precepts and who by baptizing a second time do not purify but rather defile those who have already received the sacraments of the Christian name, thereby polluting them in the name of the washing. And so your Authority will order them to desist from their miserable errors, with the churches they retain contrary to true faith being returned to the Catholic Church. [. . .]

XVI.VI.4. (12 February 405). The same Augustuses to Hadrianus, Praetorian Prefect.[m] 3253

By the authority of this decree we call for the enemies of the Catholic faith to be rooted out. Therefore by a new constitution we call for the destruction of this sect which—to avoid being known as heretical—prefers to call itself schismatic. Those known as Donatists[n] are said to have trod so far down the path of evil that with harmful rashness they repeat holy baptism, thereby trampling on the mysteries. Doing so, they have infested with the contagion of a profane repetition those who have already been cleansed by the gift of divinity as has been handed down to us. In this fashion it happened that heresy was born from schism. So it is that an

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e. Apostolic passion: either the time after Easter when the Acts of the Apostles were read or the feasts of the apostles.

f. Valentinian I: emperor in the West 364–75.

g. Valens: emperor in the East 364–78.

h. Proconsul: an official who commanded an army in one or more provinces and who was often the provincial governor.

i. Valens: see note g above.

j. Gratian: emperor in the West 367–83.

k. Valentinian II: emperor in the West 375–92.

l. Vicar: a deputy of the Praetorian Prefect.

m. Praetorian Prefect: see note c above.

n. Donatists: members of a Christian group in Africa who emphasized the Church as being one holy body and who rejected sacraments celebrated by those outside Donatism.

attractive error invites credulous minds to the hope of a second forgiveness, for it is easy to persuade sinners that pardon, once granted, can again be granted. Yet if forgiveness can in the same way be given a second time, then we fail to understand why it should be denied a third time. Such people, to be sure, with the sacrilege of a repeated baptism pollute slaves and others subject to them. This is why we sanction by this law that whoever is henceforth found to rebaptize will be handed over to the judge in charge of the province. Those who rebaptize will be punished by the confiscation of all their goods; they will suffer the penalty of poverty, which will last forever. [. . .]

135. PSEUDO-HIPPOLYTUS. HOMILY. *ON THE PASCH*†

In his *Church History* (VI.XXII.1) Eusebius mentions that Hippolytus (WEC 1:31) wrote a treatise entitled *On the Pasch.* Although the text of this work remains lost, many believe that the following homily, perhaps originating in Asia Minor, lyrical in nature, and anti-Arian in content, is based upon a sermon on the same topic by Hippolytus. Its date is generally thought to be after the fourth century.

CPG 1: no. 1925 * Altaner (1961) 188 * Altaner (1966) 168 * Bardenhewer (1913) 2:544 * Quasten 2:178–79 * DPAC 2:1793

R. Cantalamessa, *L'omelia in S. Pascha dello pseudo-Ippolito de Roma: Ricerche sulla teologia dell'Asia Minor nella seconda metà del II secolo,* Scienze filologiche e letteratura 16 (Milan, 1967).

3254 1.1. Behold the sacred beams of the light of the resplendent Christ. The pure flames of the pure Spirit arise; the heavenly treasures of glory and divinity are opened; the night's dark vastness has been swallowed up; somber darkness has been destroyed in this light; and death's sad shadow has receded into darkness. Life is extended to all, and all are filled with much light; the shoot [dawn] of shoots [dawns] occupies the universe,[a] and he who was "before the morning star"[1] and before the other stars, the great Christ, immortal and immense, shines more brightly than the sun upon all people and things.

3255 1.2. This is why, for all of us who believe in him, there was instituted a day of light, long, eternal, which is not extinguished, the mystical Passover, celebrated in figure by the Law and truly fulfilled by Christ, the wonderful Passover, the marvel of divine virtue and work of divine power, true feast and eternal memorial, impassibility flowing from the

† Translated from *Homélies paschales I: une homélie inspirée du traité sur la Pâque d'Hippolyte,* trans. and ed. P. Nautin, SChr 27 (Paris, 1950).

a. Words in brackets have been added by the editor of SChr 27.

1. Ps 110:3.

Passion and immortality flowing from death, life flowing from the tomb and healing flowing from the wound; Resurrection flowing from the fall and the Ascension flowing from the descent [into hell].

I.3. This is how God accomplishes wonderful things; this is how God 3256
creates the unbelievable from the impossible so that we might know that it is God alone who can do whatever he wishes.

II.1. May Egypt announce the truth in figures, and may the Law explain 3257
these beforehand in images, being the messenger who proclaims the great coming of the wonderful king. May the multitude of the Egyptian first-born die, and may the mystical blood save Israel: this foretells what is to come; but for us the images have come to be; they have been realized; and in place of figures there is precise and evident truth itself.

II.2. This is why the Law has gone before; by a figure it has indicated 3258
the object of the truth; once there was the figure, then the truth was discovered; once there was a lamb taken from the flock, now there is the Lamb coming from heaven; once there was the sign of blood and the small phylactery of all, here there is the Word and the cup filled with the divine blood and the divine Spirit; once there was a lamb taken from the flock, now in place of the lamb there is the Shepherd himself.

III.1. Does not the reality, whose types were already beneficial, effect the 3259
complete salvation of all?

III.2. May, then, the highest heavens rejoice, for, as the Holy Spirit 3260
exclaims, these "tell of the glory of God"[2] and are the first to be enlightened by the Holy Spirit; may the heavenly angels and archangels rejoice upon seeing the commander of the heavenly armies bodily arrive in the world. May the choirs of stars also rejoice, pointing out the one who rises "before the morning star,"[3] may the air which spans the depths and endless space also rejoice; may the water of the sea, honored by the holy footprints, also rejoice; may the earth rejoice, washed as it is by the divine blood; may the whole human soul rejoice, reinvigorated as it is by resurrection unto new life.

III.3. The Passover is the public feast common to all, a gift that the 3261
Father desired to send into the world; it is Christ's divine light shining upon the earth; it is an eternal feast for the angels and archangels and immortal life for the whole world; it is mortal wound for death and incorruptible nourishment for us; it is heavenly life for all and a sacred feast for heaven and earth; it foretells mysteries "old and new,"[4] it is seen by eyes upon earth and by the mind in heaven.

IV.1. Joining ourselves to those who have a pious understanding of 3262
things "old and new,"[5] we will try to give an instruction, one that is as brief as possible, on the salutary feast of the Passover. In this way may we be completely nourished by the Word, fed not with earthly but with

2. Ps 19:1. 3. Ps 110:3. 4. Matt 13:52. 5. Ibid.

heavenly food. May we also eat the Passover of the Word with the spiritual longing with which the Lord himself desired to eat it with us when he said, "I have eagerly desired to eat this Passover with you."[6]

3263 v.1. Well, now, let us begin by briefly explaining the Law, its necessity, and why it came after Egypt; and second, the nature of the Passover that originated in Egypt, its full hidden meaning, and its complete spiritual significance.

3264 v.2. First we will cite the Scripture itself so that, through comparison and reference, we can investigate each point we will consider.

3265 "The Lord said to Moses and to Aaron in the land of Egypt: 'This month will be for you the beginning of months; it will be for you the first month of the year. Speak to the whole assembly of the children of Israel as follows: On the tenth of this month take one lamb per family, one lamb per household. If in a house there are not enough persons for the lamb, then take the stranger, the neighbor, according to the number of persons; take according to what suffices as a reckoning for the lamb. It shall be to you an unblemished lamb, a year-old male; you shall take it from the lambs or the kids. You shall keep it till the fourteenth of this month, and all the multitude of the assembly of the children of Israel shall kill it toward evening. Then they shall take of the blood, which they shall place on two door-posts and on the lintel, in the houses where they shall eat them. And they shall eat the flesh during this night, flesh roasted over fire, and they shall eat unleavened bread with bitter herbs. You shall not eat of it raw nor boiled in water, but only if roasted over the fire, the head with the feet and the entrails. Nothing shall be left of it till morning and a bone of it you shall not break. But you shall burn with fire whatever is left of it in the morning. Thus shall you eat it with loins gird, sandals on your feet, staves in your hands. You shall eat it in haste. It is a Passover to the Lord. And I will go through the land of Egypt in that night, and will smite every first-born in the land of Egypt, both man and animal, and I will take vengeance on all the gods of Egypt: I am the Lord. And the blood shall be a sign for you on the houses in which you live, and I will see the blood and will protect you. And there shall not be upon you the plague of destruction when I smite in the land of Egypt. And this day will be a memorial for you, and you shall observe it as a feast to the Lord through all generations; you shall observe it as a feast for a perpetual ordinance. For seven days you shall eat unleavened bread.'[7]

3266 "And the Lord said to Moses and Aaron: 'This is the law of the Passover: no stranger shall eat of it. Every slave or servant bought with money—him you shall circumcise, and then shall he eat of it. A traveler or hireling shall not partake of it. In one house shall it be eaten, and you shall not carry any of the flesh out from the house, and a bone of it you shall not

6. Luke 22:15. 7. Exod 12:1–15.

break. All the assembly of the children of Israel shall observe it. And if any proselyte shall come to you to keep the Passover to the Lord, you shall circumcise every male of him, and then shall he approach to sacrifice it, and he shall be as the original inhabitant of the land; no uncircumcised person shall eat of it. There shall be one law to the native, and to the proselyte coming among you.'"[8]

VI.1. It was in this mystical manner that the divine Scripture announced such a holy feast. Now we will more carefully examine each point that was read; in response to your requests we will investigate the mysteries hidden in the Scripture without suppressing the truth of what is written and yet considering the reality of the mysteries through their figures. 3267

VI.2. Regarding the tabernacle, the Holy Spirit commanded Moses to fashion it "according to the plan that I will show you."[9] And so in the original model and in the firstborn our eyes see a figure, our mind sees a mystery. 3268

VI.3. To begin, let us explain why this month is the "beginning of months,"[10] and why this month of the Passover is the "first month of the year";[11] second, let us talk about the lamb that is "taken on the tenth day of the month,"[12] the "perfect one year-old lamb";[13] also who is "the neighbor" and who is the one who "lives nearby";[14] and why is the lamb kept till the fourteenth day[15] and then "killed toward evening: the whole assembled congregation of the sons of Israel will kill it toward evening,"[16] what about "the blood on the two door-posts and on the lintel,"[17] and why was the meat eaten "at night and roasted on a fire and not raw or boiled in water"?[18] What is the meaning of the phrase, with its "head, legs, and inner organs"?[19] And why "you shall not break any of its bones"?[20] 3269

Why eat the Passover in haste?[21] What are the "girded loins, sandals on the feet, and staff in your hand"?[22] And what is the meaning of "it is the Passover of the Lord"?[23] And of "the blood shall be a sign for you on the houses where you live; when I see the blood I will pass over you and no plague shall destroy you when I strike the land of Egypt"?[24] Why eat "unleavened bread for seven days"?[25] Why is "a foreigner not to eat of it, but a slave who has been circumcised"?[26] And what is the meaning of "it shall be eaten in one house; you shall not take any of the flesh outside, and you shall not break any of its bones"?[27] No "uncircumcised may eat of it"?[28] "The whole assembly will celebrate it"[29]—what is the assembly? "There will be one law for the native and for the proselyte coming [among you],"[30] one and the same law for all. 3270

VII.1. These are the figures, the symbols, the mysteries that can be found in Israel and that are spiritually fulfilled in us. We will briefly speak about 3271

8. Exod 12:43–49. 9. Exod 26:30. 10. Exod 12:2. 11. Ibid. 12. Exod 13:3. 13. Exod 12:5. 14. Exod 12:4. 15. See Exod 12:6. 16. Ibid. 17. Exod 12:7. 18. Exod 12:9. 19. Ibid. 20. Exod 12:46. 21. See Exod 12:11. 22. Ibid. 23. Ibid. 24. Exod 12:13. 25. Exod 12:15. 26. Exod 12:43–44. 27. Exod 12:46. 28. Exod 12:45. 29. Exod 12:47. 30. Exod 12:49.

them, and then we will go on to consider the mysteries of the Truth. What was the coming of Jesus Christ after the Law? And why did he come with a body? What is the Passover he desired to eat with us? Why did he, who raised the dead by means of his word, not completely vanquish death during his lifetime? And why did he even endure death on the cross? What were the thorns with which he was crowned? The vinegar and gall that he drank? The open side from which blood and water poured forth? Why did he pray that the cup, which he came to drink, be removed from him? Who are the thieves also hanging on a cross? And which of the two is in paradise? Why was Christ's soul entrusted to the hands of his Father and his body placed in an empty sepulcher? What is the meaning of "in paradise today"?[31] What were the three days when he remained under the earth? Why were women the first to see him? And why did he extend the good news, "Women, rejoice"?[32]

3272 VIII.1. For us this is the food of the holy feast, our spiritual banquet, our immortal and delicious food. Nourished with "the bread from heaven"[33] and drinking from the cup of joy—a cup that is warm and glowing, blood marked from on high by the flame of the Spirit—may we first, returning to the beginning, speak about what is meant by the Law and the economy of the Law. In this way we will know by means of comparison the significance of the Word and its bountiful nature.

3273 IX.1. The Law of Moses was a collection of various and necessary commandments, a salutary bringing together of all that is good in this life, a mystical copy of heavenly ways of acting, a light, a star, a flame, a torch, a reflection of light from above.

3274 IX.2. The Law of Moses was the model of godliness, a rule for a well-ordered way of life; it was an obstacle facing the first sin, a clue as to the truth to come.

3275 IX.3. The Law of Moses was punishment for Egyptian ill-conduct, "imprinted with the finger of God," for his "powerful arm"[34] was reserved for something better.

3276 IX.4. The Law of Moses was a leader for piety, a guide for justice, a light for the blind, a proof for the foolish, a teacher[35] for children, a restraint for the arrogant, a bridle for stiff necks, a restraining yoke for those who resist.

3277 IX.5. The Law of Moses was the messenger of Christ and the precursor of Jesus, the herald and prophet of the great king, a wise school, a necessary exercise, a universal teaching, a commandment coming at the right time, and a passing mystery.

3278 IX.6. The Law of Moses, being in form a symbol and an enigma, was a summary of future grace, and through images it proclaimed the perfect truth to come: by means of sacrifice it announced the Victim and by blood

31. Luke 23:43. 32. See Matt 28:9. 33. John 6:31. 34. Exod 31:18. 35. See Gal 3:24.

it announced the Blood; by the lamb it announced the Lamb; by the dove it announced the Dove; by the altar of the High Priest and by the temple it announced the divine Tabernacle; and by the fire of the altar it announced the full Light that descended from on high upon the world.

x.1. The Law was given to us beforehand in a mystical manner, but it had to come after Egypt since it came from a materialistic soul and from an Egyptianized heart. It extracts invisible evil roots; like a plow it cuts through the dense and thick thorns of intimate thoughts; it ploughs and furrows the depths of the soul, prepares and clears a path in the soul so that the soul may receive the heavenly seed of the divine Word; this is why the Holy Spirit rightly exclaims, *Break up your fallow ground and do not sow among thorns.*[36] 3279

x.2. And so the Passover, for a mystical reason, originated in Egypt; it is the first to destroy the darkness of idolatry; it is the symbolic breaking away from godless paganism, the nocturnal and vengeful plague upon the firstborn offspring of a people who have strayed. 3280

xi. Certainly Egypt also suffered, unquestionably so, by the plague affecting the firstborn. All its eldest died so that the stiff-necked Pharaoh, who failed to learn from the first plagues, might at least learn from this last lesson so that Israel was also saved in an extraordinary manner, and so that God was glorified in all. For Egypt, therefore, it was the "passion" during the plague, and for Israel it was the "Passover" in the feast; and it is precisely for this reason that the feast is called "the Passover of the Lord."[37] 3281

xii. There were many other mysteries of God's future mercy, and this is why Egypt is the immense and dark image of an obscure and profound ill-conduct, for from Egypt came forth the first torrent of falsehoods concerning calves, fish, birds, beasts, and animals of this sort, all deified and honored like gods. Yet when the avenging anger from on high was made manifest and when a great wrath afflicted the whole land, only then was the error of superstition and idolatry stricken, for, "on all the gods of Egypt I will show my vengeance; I am the Lord."[38] 3282

xiii. All the firstborn were touched by the plague because, claiming for themselves seniority in age, they had seniority as being slaves of idolatry. 3283

xiv. The plague occurred in darkness and at night, for it was in complete darkness, in an obscurity without light and without day, that the punishment of dark evil deeds and of the devils occurred: "I will show portents in the heavens and on the earth, blood and fire and smoke. The sun shall be turned to darkness and the moon to blood, before the great and terrible day of the Lord comes."[39] And, "Alas for you who desire the day of the Lord! Why do you want the day of the Lord? It is darkness, not light; it is as if someone fled from a lion and was met by a bear, or went into the house and 3284

36. Jer 4:3. 37. Exod 12:11. 38. Exod 12:12. 39. Joel 2:30–31.

rested a hand against the wall, and was bitten by a snake. Is not the day of the Lord darkness, not light, and gloom with no brightness in it"?[40]

3285 XV.1. "Blood as a sign";[41] the bloody mystery of Christ's seal and a sign. The sign is not the reality itself but is the sign of a reality yet to come. For those who bear the sign of blood marked and anointed on their souls—as on the houses—will be spared the exterminating plague since "when blood is seen on the houses, I will protect you, and no plague will kill you when I strike the land of Egypt."[42]

3286 XV.2. "Blood as a sign": a phylactery; "on the houses" as on souls, for by faith the soul is the sacred dwelling-place of the Holy Spirit; "I will protect you": the far-reaching protection of the outstretched hands of Jesus safeguarding those who believe.

3287 XVI. This, then, is the cosmic and universal mystery of the Passover: but listen also to the detailed explanation of this divine feast insofar as we can give it, for it is God who knows the truth about these things, as well as God's Word who has organized in himself and by himself the holy Passover; but may we—human as we are—be pardoned, my beloved, if we should fail in any way.

3288 XVII.1. As to the first point, let us explain why this month is "the beginning of months" and why the month of the Passover is "the first month of the year."[43]

3289 XVII.2. According to a secret tradition among the Hebrews it was during this month that God, the artisan and maker of all things, created the universe. This month was the first flower of creation, the beauty of the world, when the creator saw the statue that he had artfully made move harmoniously as intended. They observe the good order of the heavens and the pleasantness of the season, the regularity of the sun and the ascent of a light that is not diminished; also the emergence of fruits and the budding of plants, the flowering of trees, and flocks bear their young. This is the time when the whole earth begins to turn green so that new trees blossom and bring forth fruit; when the farmer, detaches the plow and allows his billowing oxen to rest and, after throwing God-given seeds upon the earth, awaits heaven's rain; when the shepherd obtains milk from the white sheep of his flocks; when beekeepers fashion fragrant honeycombs for their hives; when the sailor joyfully dares to tempt the sea and confront the heavy waves for the sake of gain. They believe that this harmony in all things, this order of the universe, and, so to speak, this happiness, are the first beginnings, and that the sweet pleasure of springtime begins the year.

3290 XVII.3. I do not disbelieve these things; and yet I believe—or rather I am convinced—that it is because of the spiritual feast of the Pasch that this month of the Passover is considered as the beginning, the head, and the

40. Amos 5:18–20. 41. Exod 12:13. 42. Ibid. 43. Exod 12:2.

most important leader of all times and all ages. During this month such a great mystery is accomplished and celebrated. Just as the Lord is the first-begotten and firstborn of all immaterial and invisible beings, so this month which celebrates the holy solemnity became the first month of the year and the beginning of all time.

XVII.4. The year is that proclaimed by the divine Scriptures, "Proclaim the year of the Lord's favor."[44] 3291

XVIII.1. The holy victim is a lamb, for "he allows himself to be led to slaughter and is like a sheep before its shearers that is silent."[45] In John we read, "This is the Lamb of God who takes away the sins of the world."[46] 3292

IXX. The lamb is "perfect" and "one year old."[47] Perfect as if coming from heaven; one year old since this is how long it exists on earth. The year, in fact, is the measure of time upon earth, for year follows year and by circling back upon itself imitates endless eternity. 3293

XX. It is taken "on the tenth of the month"[48] in a way that is also completely symbolic, for the Law is the period of time prior to the Gospel, and the principal commandment of the Law is the Decalogue, but after the ten precepts of the Law comes the mystical Lamb descending from heaven. 3294

XXI. It is kept throughout the intervening days,[49] allowing us to understand the period of time during which the high priest held Christ captive. 3295

XXII. "I am the unworthy one, the neighbor"[50] who is invited to eat the lamb since you, O Israel, did not understand the Lamb. 3296

XXIII. The lamb is then slaughtered at twilight.[51] In fact, it was also at the setting of the sun that the holy Lamb of God was slain. 3297

XXIV. "All the multitude of the assembly of the children of Israel will kill it."[52] Unbelieving Israel has, in fact, become responsible for this precious blood, some in the past spilling it and others still refusing to believe. This is why the Holy Spirit testifies against them and cries out, "Your hands are full of blood."[53] 3298

XXV.1. The blood is "on the lintel," as on the Church, and "on the two doorposts,"[54] as on the two peoples. 3299

XXV.2. The Savior did not deny that he was first sent to you, O Israel: "I was not sent to you," he said, "but to the lost sheep of the house of Israel."[55] And I, like a small dog, was sitting alongside the table of others, still being unable to eat the bread and to gather the superfluous morsels that fall from the table of others; but since you did not recognize the heavenly Manna, the Bread was given to me rather than to you because of my faith; once a dog, I am now a son. 3300

XXVI. It is during the night[56] when the meat is eaten, for the light of the world has come down upon the great body of Christ: "Take, eat; this is my Body."[57] 3301

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44. Isa 61:2. 45. Isa 53:7. 46. John 1:29. 47. Exod 12:5. 48. Exod 12:3. 49. See Exod 12:6. 50. Exod 12:4. 51. See Exod 12:6. 52. Ibid. 53. Isa 1:15. 54. Exod 12:7. 55. Matt 15:24. 56. See Exod 12:8. 57. Matt 26:26.

3302 XXVII. The meat is "roasted over the fire"[58] since the spiritual body of Christ is on fire: "I came to bring fire to the earth, and how I wish it were already kindled."[59]

3303 XXVIII. The meat is not raw[60] so that the Word of God can be assimilated, easy to proclaim and to receive; nor is it "boiled in water"[61] so that God's Word be neither moist nor watery nor runny.

3304 XXIX.1. "The head with the feet and the inner organs":[62] [the head is like God; the inner organs] like the invisible will [of the Father]; the feet like humankind.

3305 XXIX.2. "The head with the feet and the inner organs," being the beginning, the middle, and the end—enclosing, assembling, and gathering everything in itself by indissoluble bonds, having truly become "one mediator between God and humankind."[63]

3306 XXIX.3. "The head with the feet and the inner organs"; God, the Word, and the people on the earth.

3307 XXIX.4. "The head with the feet and the inner organs" [comprising] by their height, their depth, and their extent [the heavens, the earth] and the earth's foundations.

3308 XXIX.5. "The head with the feet and the inner organs": the Law, the Word, and the apostles; the Law as the beginning, the Word as [God's will], and the apostles as the feet: "How beautiful are the feet of those who announce good news."[64]

3309 XXX. "Break none of its bones"[65] so that you may recognize his bodily Resurrection: "Put your fingers here," he says, "in the place of the nails so that you might know that a spirit has neither flesh nor bone."[66]

3310 XXXI. "Eat the unleavened bread with bitter herbs":[67] a bitter mystery for you, [O Israel], namely, the mystery of bitter things. "Your country lies desolate, your cities are burned with fire; in your very presence aliens devour your land; it is desolate, as overthrown by foreigners."[68]

3311 XXXII. "Eat" the Passover "in haste,"[69] for we must remain awake and be sober when we see the great body [of Christ] approaching.

3312 XXXIII. "Girded loins":[70] to cease are sexual defilement, illicit intercourse, and impure pleasure.

3313 XXXIV.1. "Sandals on the feet":[71] these being the foundation of righteousness, a solid support since [sandals] are the roots of truth.

3314 XXXIV.2. "Sandals on the feet": these Moses removed and Jesus put on; it was, in fact, said [to Moses], "Untie the sandals of your feet"[72] to show that the Law is transitory; [and of Jesus] it was said, "I am not worthy to untie the strap of his sandals."[73]

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58. Exod 12:8. 59. Luke 12:49. 60. See Exod 12:9. 61. Ibid. 62. Ibid. 63. 1 Tim 2:5. 64. Rom 10:15; Isa 52:7. 65. Exod 12:10. 66. See John 20:25, 27. 67. Exod 12:15; see 12:8. 68. Isa 1:7. 69. Exod 12:11. 70. Ibid. 71. Exod 12:11. 72. Exod 3:5. 73. Luke 3:16.

XXXV. "Your staff in hand":[74] a sign of divine power and a support of 3315
the power of the Word, the staff of Moses, that of Aaron, that made from the nut tree; the staff that opened up the depths of the [Red] Sea; the staff that sweetened the bitter streams; the staff upon which God's seven holy spirits rested: "The spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, [the spirit of knowledge and godliness], the spirit of the fear of God will fill him."[75]

XXXVI. The Passover is "the Passover of the Lord."[76] Has the Spirit pro- 3316
claimed anything more clearly than this, namely, that the Passover is not a figure, not a story, not an outline, but the true Passover of the Lord?

XXXVII. "The blood as a sign,"[77] a sign of the truth to come, the first fig- 3317
ure of the true Spirit, a representation of the great anointing.

XXXVIII. "I will pour out the blood and I will protect you."[78] You have 3318
truly protected us, O Jesus, from great destruction; you have extended your paternal hands; you have hidden us within your fatherly wings; you have had your divine blood flow forth upon the earth in your blood-stained and merciful solicitude; you have turned away from us angry threats, and in their place you have granted us the first reconciliation coming from on high.

XXXIX. May they [the Jews] eat "unleavened bread for seven days"[79] by 3319
being involved with the weekly cycle of the world and by eating the food of the earth as allowed by the Law. "For our paschal lamb, Christ, has been sacrificed,"[80] and we have received the "new dough"[81] of his holy mixture, completely fermented by the leaven of a stronger Power and kneaded by his Spirit * * *[b]

XL. The reason why the foreigner is not to eat of this Passover[82] is that 3320
I do not "throw pearls before swine," and I do not "give what is holy to dogs."[83] But those who formerly were "slaves" of sin will be "circumcised" in their hearts, and, once set free from painful slavery, then as children of the family they will approach the mystery and as free persons they will of their own accord eat the Passover, for "Christ redeemed us" from slavery and "from evil by becoming a curse for us."[84]

XLI. "It shall be eaten in one house; you shall not take any of the meat 3321
outside."[85] There is, in fact, one assembly and one house—namely, one Church—within which the holy Body of Christ is eaten; this is why "outside" the one house—the Church—meat will not be brought forth, but whoever eats it there will be punished as an ungodly person and as a thief.

XLII. There will be one law for those who are free and for the proselytes, 3322
for wherever Christ is, there is liberty and equality for all, the same rights, the same law, the same price: all have been redeemed "by the precious

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b. The text here is corrupt.

74. Exod 12:11. 75. Isa 11:2. 76. Exod 12:11. 77. Ibid. 78. Exod 12:12. 79. Exod 12:15. 80. 1 Cor 5:7. 81. Ibid. 82. See Exod 12:43–44. 83. Matt 7:6. 84. Gal 3:13. 85. Exod 12:46.

blood."[86] For this reason "you are no longer slaves"[87] nor Jews; you are free, for in Christ we have all become free.

3323 XLIII. Listen now, listen. After the figures and after the economy of the Law, this is why and with what greatness Christ came upon the earth after the Law.

3324 XLIV. What do we mean by the coming of Christ? It is deliverance from slavery, the rejection of former constraints, the beginning of freedom, the honor of adoption, the source of the forgiveness of sins, and indeed immortal life for all.

3325 XLV.1. Since the Word from above saw us under the tyranny of death, both bound and loosed by the fetters of corruption and taken down an inevitable path with no return, he came to assume [the nature] of the first man according to his Father's plan. Neither to the angels nor to the archangels did he entrust the care of our salvation, but he took upon himself the whole struggle on our behalf, obedient as he was to the will of the Father. [. . .]

3326 XLV.3. Since there also had to have been a receptacle of the Holy Spirit—filtering and receiving [human nature], rejecting and throwing aside, on the one hand, all that was superfluous and disturbing, [retaining] on the other hand, all that was pure, transparent, and clear—he had it glow like the stars; it was bright as fire, flowering, virginal, and, so to speak, angelic. This was his body, a body in the image of man, possessing from one part a spiritual shoot and taking flesh from the other part.

3327 XLV.4. This is why in a completely figurative way Scripture has designated him in these terms: "This is the man whose name is shoot."[88] "Shoot" insofar as in the Spirit; "man" insofar as the flesh. In fact, "the Spirit of the Lord will come upon you and the power of the Most High will overshadow you; therefore the child to be born will be holy; he will be called the Son of the Most High."[89] Faced with this extraordinary and divine birth, the Spirit is rightly astonished, saying, "Who could have explained his generation?"[90]

3328 XLVI.1. God has four principal names by which we can recognize the Holy Spirit: lordship, divinity, filiation, and eternal royalty. Let us see whether Christ alone had the honor of receiving these qualities and glories. First, observe that he is the Lord: "The Lord says to my lord, sit at my right hand."[91] You see that he is the Lord since he proceeds from the Lord; also see that he is the Son: "He shall cry to me, You are my Father . . . and I will make him the firstborn.[92] Also, "You are my son: today I have begotten you. Ask of me, and I will make the nations your heritage."[93] Notice that he is the Son, the Firstborn and the Only-Begotten One; also that he is God: "The powerful will come to you; in choirs they will follow you, for you are God, because you alone are God."[94] You have seen that he is

86. 1 Pet 1:19. 87. Gal 4:7. 88. Zech 6:12. 89. Luke 1:35. 90. Isa 53:8. 91. Ps 110:1. 92. Ps 89:26–27. 93. Ps 2:7–8. 94. Isa 45:14.

God; also see that he is the eternal King: "Your throne, O God, endures forever and ever. Your royal scepter is a scepter of equity. You love righteousness and hate wickedness. Therefore God, your God, has anointed you with the oil of gladness beyond your companions."[95] You have seen that he is King; also note that he, while being King, is the Lord of hosts: "O princesses, lift up your gates; lift up your eternal gates so that the King of glory may come in. Who is this King of glory? The Lord himself is the King of glory."[96] Notice that at one and the same time he is King, he is also the Lord of hosts; notice that, among his other titles, he is also the eternal High Priest: "The Lord has sworn and will not change his mind: you are a priest forever."[97]

XLVI.2. But if he is the Lord God, Son and King, Lord of hosts and eternal High Priest when he desires this, "he is also a man and who has known him"?[98] The words "also a man" evidently and primarily imply that he is also God. And so that we not imagine, as some people do, that he came upon earth like a phantom or a spirit produced by chance and without (human) generation; we should understand that he was also a small infant: "Hear then, O house of David! Is it too little for you to dispute with mortals that you dispute with the Lord also? Therefore the Lord himself will give you a sign: Look, a virgin will conceive and bear a son and he will be called Emmanuel."[99] Also, "they will be willing even if they were burnt with fire. For a child is born to us; authority rests upon his shoulders; he is called the Messenger of the Great Counselor, admirable Counselor, mighty God, Prince of Peace, and Father of the age to come."[100] 3329

XLVII.1. It is indeed as God and man that this wonderful Jesus came to dwell among us—let no one refuse to believe this; and that the sovereign Spirit has been contained in a human body. 3330

XLVII.2. The first mystical breath of the Father was retained by Adam upon the earth, even though Adam was made of clay, for nothing prevents the Holy Spirit from uniting with a body when God so desires: if primitive mud contained the Holy Spirit, then a body endowed with a soul contained Christ's immortal life. 3331

XLVII.3. To be sure, if the Spirit alone had fallen into the slavery of sin and death, Christ's great bodily coming would have been superfluous; neither sin nor death would have been overcome. But it was necessary that sin be abolished and that the body be freed. 3332

XLVII.4. Because of this "he committed no iniquity and no evil was found in his mouth."[101] 3333

XLVIII. He first clothed himself with this body which is miserable and subject to death, and this is why the Spirit cries out: "He had no form or majesty. We looked upon him and he had neither form nor beauty. He was despised and rejected by the sons of men,"[102] for "it is in the likeness of sin 3334

95. Ps 45:6–7. 96. Ps 24:9–10. 97. Ps 110:4. 98. Jer 17:9, LXX. 99. Isa 7:13–14. 100. Isa 9:4–5. 101. Isa 53:9. 102. Isa 53:2–3.

that he has condemned sin,[103] showing that "those who are healthy have no need of a physician but those who are sick."[104] So he has cured our bodies from their infirmities, and he has healed each from his or her illness by reason of his power so that the following might be fulfilled: "I am the Lord, I have called you in righteousness, I have taken you by the hand and kept you; I have given you as a covenant to the people, a light to the nations, to open the eyes that are blind, to bring out the prisoners from the dungeon, from the prison those who sit in darkness. I am the Lord. This is my name."[105] "The deaf shall hear the words of the book. 'A light has risen for those who were seated in the darkness; then the lame shall leap like a deer and the tongue of the speechless sing for joy.'"[106] And when every evil will be suppressed, "the last enemy to be destroyed is death; where, O death, is your sting?"[107]

3335 IL.1. This was the Passover Jesus desired to suffer for us: through suffering he freed us from suffering; through death he conquered death; and by visible nourishment he obtained his immortal life for us. This is the salutary desire of Jesus;[108] this is his completely spiritual love: to show the figures as being figures and, in their place, to give his holy body to his disciples: "Take, eat, this is my Body. Take, drink; this is my Blood—the new covenant—poured out for many for the forgiveness of sins."[109]

3336 IL.2. If he desires not so much to eat as to suffer, it is to deliver us from suffering by eating.

3337 L. So in place of the old tree he plants a new one; in place of the wicked hand which was formerly extended in a godless gesture, there is his own immaculate hand closed in a gesture of godliness, showing his whole life hanging [on the cross]. You, O Israel, you were unable to eat it, but we, with a spiritual and indestructible knowledge, have eaten it, and because we have done so we will not die.

3338 LI.1. For me the cross is the tree of eternal salvation; from it I nourish myself, from it I feed myself.

3339 LI.2. In its roots I myself take root; with its branches I enlarge myself; its dew gives me joy; its breath, like a refreshing breeze, fertilizes me.

3340 LI.3. In its shade I have pitched my tent, and fleeing the hot season I find there a shelter moist with dew.

3341 LI.4. Its leaves are my foliage, its fruits my perfect delicacies; I freely enjoy its fruits, which have been set aside for me from the beginning.

3342 LI.5. It is my nourishment when I am hungry; my spring when I am thirsty; my garment when I am naked. What covers me are no longer the leaves of a fig tree but the Spirit of life.

3343 LI.6. When I fear God, it is my protection. When I stagger, it is my support. When I struggle, it is my prize. When I triumph, it is my standard.

3344 LI.7. For me it is the straight path and the narrow road.

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103. Rom 8:3. 104. Luke 5:31. 105. Isa 42:6–8. 106. Isa 35:6. 107. 1 Cor 15:26, 55. 108. See Luke 22:15. 109. Matt 26:26–28; see 1 Cor 11:25.

LI.8. It is Jacob's ladder and the way of the angels leading to a summit that is indeed upheld by the Lord. 3345

LI.9. This cross with its heavenly dimensions extends from the earth to heaven; it is stable, an eternal tree, between heaven and earth, the upholder of all things, the foundation of the universe, the support of the whole inhabited earth, the joint of the world, bringing together human nature in all its variety and fastened by the invisible pegs of the Spirit so that, joined together with the divine, it may no longer be detached from it. 3346

LI.10. With its tallest point extending to the highest heavens, it gives a firm footing to the earth and, midway down, its large hands embrace the omnipresent spirit of the air. It is completely in all things and in all places. 3347

LII.1. He, who filled all, was stripped of his clothes so that naked he might struggle against the powers of the air. 3348

LII.2. For an instant he cries out for something to drink in order to show that he is also a man; but recalling his mission and wishing to accomplish the economy for which he was sent, he again cries out, "Not my will but yours be done,"[110] for "the spirit is willing but the flesh is weak."[111] 3349

LIII.1. Since the merciless combat in which he engaged was a struggle leading to victory, his holy head was first crowned with thorns, these completely blotting out the ancient curse of the earth, with his divine head destroying the profusion of thorns that result from sin. 3350

LIII.2. Then after consuming the bitter gall of the Dragon, he poured out for us in exchange the sweet fountains flowing from within himself. 3351

LIII.3. Desiring to destroy what the woman had done and as an obstacle to him [Adam] from whose side she came as a bearer of death, he opened his own holy side from which flowed forth the holy blood and water, signs of a spiritual wedding, of spiritual adoption and rebirth. 3352

LIII.4. For it is written, "He will baptize you with the Holy Spirit and with fire,"[112] the water as "with the Holy Spirit," the blood as "with the fire." 3353

LIV.1. Two thieves were crucified with him. They were the signs of the two peoples: the one thief who recognized and sincerely confessed his sins and showed affection for his master; the other thief who had "a stiff neck"—neither recognizing nor showing affection for his master and continuing in his sinful way of life. 3354

LIV.2. The two thieves are the two dispositions of the soul: the first turns away from its former sins, prepares itself for its master, and thus obtains—through penance—mercy and a reward; the other has no excuse because it has not changed and remains a thief up to the end. 3355

LV.1. When the cosmic struggle ended and Christ was everywhere victorious in battle, neither elevated like God nor conquered like man, he remained firmly embedded in the confines of the universe, triumphantly producing in his own person a victorious trophy over the Enemy. 3356

110. Luke 22:42. 111. Matt 26:41. 112. Matt 3:11.

3357 LV.2. Then, confronted with his long endurance, the whole world stood in awe. When the heavens were shaken, the Powers above, the Thrones and the Laws quivered, seeing the commander-in-chief of the great army [of angels] on the cross; very nearly did the stars of heaven fall, seeing on the cross the one who existed "before the morning star,"[113] for a short time the sun's fire was also extinguished upon seeing the great "light of the world"[114] darken. Then the rocks of the earth split apart,[115] crying out Israel's ingratitude: You have not recognized "the spiritual drink that followed you and from which you drank,"[116] the veil of the temple was rent, participating in the Passion and designating the true high priest of heaven. The whole world would have been crushed by fear, confronted as it were by the Passion, if the great Jesus had not breathed forth the divine Spirit as he said, "Father, into your hands I commend my spirit."[117]

3358 LV.3. There was complete dismay; a fearful trembling afflicted all; everything was shaken. But when the divine Spirit rose up again, the universe in some way was renewed, vivified, strengthened, again finding stability.

3359 LVI. O divine extension that is in all things and is found everywhere! O crucifixion that permeates all things! O most unique One, truly you are all. May the heavens have your spirit, paradise your soul—for he says, "This day I will be with you in paradise"[118]—and may the earth possess your body. The indivisible is divided in order that all might be saved, so that even the place below be not deprived of the divine coming. "His form we have not seen, but his voice we have heard."

3360 LVII. Certainly, already during his lifetime he broke the bonds of death as he used his royal power, for example, "Lazarus, come forth"[119] and "Child, arise"[120] in order to show that he has authority over death. He gave himself completely over to death so that the ravenous beast with its insatiable bonds might completely die. In his sinless body the beast looked for its food all over: nowhere sensual pleasures, nowhere pride, nowhere disobedience, nowhere—in a word—the ancient sin, the original nourishment of death, for it is written, "the sting of death is sin."[121] But when the beast found nothing in him that death could eat, being completely cut off and destroyed by a lack of food, it caused its own death.

3361 LVIII.1. Many of the just were announcing the Good News and were prophesying, [awaiting] him who by his resurrection would be "the firstborn from the dead."[122] So he remained in the earth for three days in order that people everywhere would be saved: those before the Law, those under the Law, and those of his own time.

3362 LVIII.2. Perhaps this is why the living [Christ] took three days to rise completely: soul, spirit, and body.

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113. Ps 110:3. 114. John 8:12. 115. See Matt 27:51. 116. 1 Cor 10:4. 117. Luke 23:46. 118. Luke 23:43. 119. John 11:43. 120. Luke 8:54. 121. 1 Cor 15:56. 122. Col 1:18; see Rev 1:5.

LIX.1. After his resurrection it was the women who saw him first; just as a woman brought the first sin into the world, so a woman was also the first person to announce life to the world. 3363

LIX.2. This is why they also heard the holy words "Women, rejoice"[123] so that the initial sadness might be swallowed up by the joy of the resurrection. 3364

LX. Remaining for a little while and ratifying his holy resurrection, he gave unbelievers proof of his resurrection so that they might believe that his rising from among the dead took place with his body. 3365

LXI.1. Just as he completely assumed in himself the complete image [of God] and putting off "the old self,"[124] he changed himself into the man of heaven[125] when this image, blended to himself, ascended with him into heaven. 3366

LXI.2. Seeing this great mystery of a man now ascending with God, the Powers cry out the following command to the armies on high: "Lift up your gates, O princesses, lift up your eternal gates, and the King of glory will come in."[126] Seeing the wonderful prodigy of a human being mixed with God, they respond, "Who is the King of glory?"[127] And again those who were asked reply, "The Lord of Powers is the King of glory, strong, mighty, and powerful in battle."[128] 3367

LXII.1. O mystical choir! O spiritual feast! O divine Passover! You came down from heaven to earth, and you return to heaven from the earth. 3368

LXII.2. O universal festival of all things. O festival for the whole world. O joy and honor of the universe, its nourishment and delight! Through you death's darkness has been destroyed, life has been extended to all things. Heaven's gates have been opened. God is shown to be man, and a man is shown to be God. Thanks to you [namely, the Passover] the "gates of hell" have been broken and the "bars of bronze"[129] have been shattered. The people from below, raised from the dead, proclaim the Good News. And from the earth a choir has been given for the flocks on high. 3369

LXII.3. O holy Passover, you have not restricted God by having God depart from the heavens, but you have spiritually joined God [to us]. Thanks to you the great wedding hall has been filled, everyone wearing nuptial garments, and no one being ejected for not wearing such a garment.[130] 3370

LXII.4. O Passover, light of the new torches and glitter of the torches of virgins, thanks to you the lamps of souls are no longer extinguished, but the divine and spiritual fire of love burns in all, in spirit and in body, supplied with the very oil of Christ. 3371

LXIII.1. It is indeed you upon whom we call. You are God, the spiritually eternal master. You are Christ, being both teacher and king. Continue to extend your powerful hands upon your holy Church and upon your holy people, keeping and preserving them as you attack, pursue, combat, and 3372

123. See Matt 28:9. 124. Eph 4:22; Col 3:9. 125. See 1 Cor 15:48. 126. Ps 24:7. 127. Ps 24:8. 128. Ibid. 129. Ps 107:16; Job 38:17. 130. See Matt 22:10.

subdue all adversaries, even vanquishing with invisible power all who oppose you. Since you have conquered our enemies, as you did those of Israel, now raise on high the standard of our salvation and allow us also to join Moses in singing the hymn of victory. For to you are the glory and the kingdom for ever and ever. Amen.

136. CALLICINIUS. *LIFE OF HYPATIUS*[†]

Hypatius, who lived sometime during the second half of the fourth century and the first half of the fifth century, was the hegumen or superior of a monastic community in Bithynia, located in northwest Asia Minor.

Callicinius, a disciple, wrote this admiring biography.

Bardenhewer (1913) 4:160–61 * DPAC 2:1790–91 * EEC 1:401 * NCES 6:262

3373 XIII. Hypatius, a friend of Christ, built a very small cell where he secluded himself during Lent—its entrance being made of clay. In the door was a small hole through which on every other day he received his bread and through which he instructed visitors. On the holy Pasch he left the cell, his face shining like that of one of God's angels, an angel full of divine grace. Immediately he went to the Church of the Holy Apostles in which he had unwillingly been ordained a priest by the blessed bishop Philotheus. Celebrating the liturgy, at the moment of the divine offering of the host he, full of sighs, invoked God with so powerful a voice that those listening to him were moved to tears. All were filled with fear, being instructed when on Sunday he went to the Holy Apostles and corrected the whole world by his actions as well as by his words. The clergy revered him as a father.

3374 XV. At another time the body of Alcimus, who was a servant of Ourbicius, was half wasted away as a result of magical practices. This servant came with Ourbicius to request healing from Hypatius. God's servant prayed and anointed Alcimus with oil, and the Lord cured him several days later. [. . .]

3375 XXVI. The diet followed by Hypatius consisted of dry beans, greens, and a little bread. In his old age he took a little wine. He always ate after the ninth hour had passed, often postponing his meal somewhat. During Lent, when he ate only every other day, he secluded himself, singing the psalms and praying in the morning, at the third, sixth, and ninth hours, at the lighting of the lamps, at the first vigil, and at midnight, for it was said, "Seven times a day I praise you for your righteous ordinances."[1] And so within the space of one day and one night he chanted the psalms seven

[†] Translated from *Vie d'Hypatios*, ed. G.J.M. Bartelink, SChr 177 (Paris, 1971) 120–23, 124–25, 180–83, 234–35, 288–91.

1. Ps 119:164.

times, a hundred psalms and a hundred prayers. This is how he lived till the time of his death. [. . .]

XL. On a certain Sunday he went to the Church of the Holy Apostles 3376
where he met a foreign woman who, tormented by a devil, solemnly cried out to him, "O Hypatius, listen to me. Do not let me be tormented." She went as far as the porch where she remained till the dismissal of the faithful. Upon coming out, Hypatius marked her with the sign of the cross and said a prayer. She got to her feet, suddenly regaining her calm and composure since God cured her through the imposition of the saint's hands.

[After the death of Hypatius]

LI. [. . .] Many bishops gathered as well as all those who loved Hy- 3377
patius because of his virtuous life. It was a large crowd composed of people who love God and of monks from each of the monasteries. They lit candles and piously accompanied him during his last voyage as they sang psalms and hymns. All accompanying his precious body were in tears because, having lost such a father, they were orphans. In peace they placed the saint's body in the monastery's beloved oratory, in a stone sarcophagus, in the chapel where the brothers send up their prayers. [. . .]

137. COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON (451)†

This meeting, acknowledged as the fourth ecumenical council, took place in Chalcedon, nearly opposite Byzantium, and opened on October 8, 451. The bishops declared that in Jesus there is one person with two natures, one human and the other divine, which are indivisibly and inseparably united.

CPG 4: nos. 8945ff. * Hefele (1871) 3:4ff. * Hefele (1905) 2.2:649–857 * CATH 2:868–69 * CE 3:555–58 * DCA 1:334–37 * DDC 3:287–92 * DDCon 1:230–33 * DPAC 1:565–67 * DTC 2.2:2190–2208 * EC 3:324–28 * EEC 1:159 * EEChr 1:233–34 * LTK 2:999–1002 * NCE 3:423–26 * NCES 3:363–66 * ODCC 315 * TRE 7:668–75

Canon 2. [. . .] If any bishop [. . .] ordains for money a bishop, a chor- 3378
bishop, a presbyter, or a deacon, or anyone numbered among the clergy [. . .], let him lose his personal rank; and let the person ordained profit nothing from the ordination.[a] [. . .]

Canon 15. No woman under forty years of age is to be ordained [a deacon- 3379
ess?], and then only after close scrutiny.[b] If after receiving ordination and

† Translation from DEC 1:87–88, 94.

a. See Orleans II (533) can. 3 (WEC 4:4597); Braga II (572) can. 3 (WEC 4:4756); Barcelona II (599) can. 1 (WEC 4:4772).

b. See Nicaea I (325) can. 19 (WEC 2:1456); Laodicea (between 343 and 381) can. 11 (WEC 2:1964); Nîmes (394) can. 2 (WEC 2:1226); *Statuta* (5th c.) can. 100 (WEC 3:3119); Orange I (441) can. 25 (WEC 3:3136); Epaon (517) can. 21 (WEC 4:4577); Dvin (527) can. 17 (WEC 4:4844); Orleans II (533) can. 18 (WEC 4:4600).

spending some time in the ministry, she despises God's grace and marries, she is to be anathema along with her spouse.

SYRIA

138. THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA

Theodore, born in 350 in Antioch, studied in that city under Libanius, the sophist rhetorician, and then under Diodore of Tarsus. Theodore eventually embraced and then left the monastic life, only to return, influenced by John Chrysostom (WEC 2:74), a dear friend who had been a fellow-student. In 383 Theodore was ordained a presbyter; in 392 he was made bishop of Mopsuestia in Cilicia (located in southwest Asia Minor).

Especially noted for his biblical commentaries, for being a strong opponent of the Alexandrian allegorical interpretation of the Scriptures, as well as for being an adversary of Arianism and other heresies, Theodore was greatly revered during his own lifetime. However, after his death in 428, some accused his theology as being less than orthodox, especially regarding his christological teaching, e.g., Christ having two persons. Denying the existence of original sin, he was also considered a Pelagian. The Second Council of Constantinople in 553 issued fourteen anathemas or condemnations, twelve of these being against Theodore.

Most of Theodore's writings, at least in their original Greek, no longer exist, being destroyed after his condemnation in 553 as works of a heretic. Yet a few treatises, for example, his *Catechetical Homilies*, have survived in translation.

CPG 2: nos. 3827ff. * Altaner (1961) 370–73 * Altaner (1966) 319–22 * Bardenhewer (1908) 318–23 * Bardenhewer (1910) 294–97 * Bardenhewer (1913) 3:312–22 * Bardy (1929) 113–15 * Bautz 11:885–909 * Hamell 112–13 * Jurgens 2:77–84 * Quasten 3:401–23 * Steidle 128–30 * Tixeront 197–200 * CATH 14:989–92 * CE 14:571–73 * CHECL 347–48 * DCB 4:934–48 * DictSp 15:385–400 * DPAC 2:3382–86 * DTC 15.1:235–79 * EC 11:1934–37 * EEC 2:824–25 * EEChr 2:1116–17 * LTK 9:1414–15 * NCE 14:18–19 * NCES 13:874–76 * ODCC 1598–99 * PEA (1894) 5.2 (n.s.) 1881–93

R. Devreesse, "Les instructions catéchétiques de Théodore de Mopsueste," RSR 12 (1933) 425–36. * W.C. van Unnik, "Een verloren dogmatisch Geschrift van Theodorus van Mopsuestia teruggevonden," *Nieuw Theologisch Tijdschrift* 16 (1933) 152–61. * R. Abramowdki, "Neue Schriften Theodors von Mopsuestia," ZNW 34 (1934) 66–84. * O. Casel, "Neue Zeugnisse für das Kultmysterium," JL 13 (1933) 99–171. * F.J. Dölger, "Theodor von Mopsuestia über zwei Zeremonien vor dem Genuss des eucharistischen Brotes," AC 4 (1934) 231. * F.J. Dölger, "Der Taufbürge nach Theodor von Mopsuestia," AC 4 (1934) 231–32. * F.J. Dölger, "Der Kaisername als Handtätowierung für die Rekruten nach einem Zeugnis des Theodor von Mopsuestia," AC 4 (1934) 230. * E. Amann, "La doctrine christologique de Théodore de Mopsueste (à propos d'une publication récente)," RSR 14 (1934) 161–90. * J. Quasten, "Der älteste Zeuge für die trinitarische Fassung der liturgischen εἷς ἅγιος Akklamation," ZkTh 58 (1934) 253–54. * M. Jugie, "Le 'Liber ad baptizandos' de

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138-A. Catechetical Homilies[†]

Only fragments (from the original Greek) of Theodore's prebaptismal sermons existed till the discovery in the 1930s of a Syriac translation of sixteen baptismal homiletic instructions given at Antioch between 392 and 428 when he was still a presbyter. Numbers 1–10 explain the creed, which is a variant of the Constantinopolitan text; number 11 concerns the Our Father; numbers 12–14 treat baptism; numbers 15–16 concern the Eucharist.

[†] Homilies translated from R. Tonneau, ed., *Les homélies catéchétiques de Théodore de Mopsueste*, ST 145 (Rome, 1949). For an excellent English translation of Homilies 13–16 with most informative notes see E. Yarnold, *The Awe-Inspiring Rites of Initiation: Baptismal Homilies of the Fourth Century* (Slough, 1972) 173–263.

138-A-1. HOMILY 12. ON BAPTISM (1)

3380 *Synopsis. Those who approach the gift of holy baptism are to present themselves to God's Church. They are received by the person designated for this since it is the custom that those who come to be baptized have their names inscribed there. Inquiries are made concerning their way of life. For those to be baptized this role is carried out by the "sponsors." Baptism will be received from those who are in charge of it; according to established usage the names of those coming forth for baptism will be written down. Inquiries will be made concerning their way of life. For those to be baptized this task is carried out by those who are the "sponsors." A person specially designated for this task inscribes your name in a book of the Church, joining in this book your name to that of your witness or your "guide" in the city and its way of life. It is necessary to use the service of those who are called "exorcists." During the exorcisms you stand motionless. You stand with outstretched hands in the posture of a person who prays; you look downward in order to obtain the mercy of the judge. Removing your outer garment, you stand barefoot. You also stand on sackcloth. You are ordered during the remaining days to meditate on the words of the creed.*[a]

3381 I. Beloved, we have, I believe, said enough over the past few days regarding the profession of faith composed by our blessed fathers in obedience to our Lord's instructions. This is the profession in which he desired that we be instructed and baptized in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. During these days I spoke to you, candidates for baptism, to teach what you should believe and in whose name you will be baptized so that, conforming to what our Lord desired, you will understand that you are being taught and baptized in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. We added something about prayer so that you might know what should be taught to those about to receive the great gift of baptism and how they are to conduct themselves. Since the time for the sacrament has arrived and since with God's grace you will soon receive holy baptism, it is necessary that I inform you as to the power of the sacrament and what accompanies it, and as to why each of the sacraments takes place so that, having learned the reason for each, you will receive with great love all that will happen.

3382 II. Each sacrament, in fact, indicates by means of signs and symbols what is invisible and inexpressible. Certainly, there must be an interpretation and an explanation for such things so that those approaching the mysteries might know their power. If, in fact, the mysteries consisted only of visible elements, then speech would be superfluous; what we see would in itself suffice to show us what is taking place. But since in the sacrament there are signs of what will take place or of what has already taken place, then there must be speech to explain the signs and the mysteries. [. . .]

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a. Each instruction is preceded by a composite of texts taken from that part of the ritual explained by the sermon.

VI. [. . .] According to the apostle, when we baptize or minister the 3383
Lord's table, we do so in memory of the death and resurrection of Christ our Savior so that hope in the resurrection may be strengthened in us.

VII. As to the resurrection, he said, "Do you not know that all of us 3384
who have been baptized into Christ Jesus were baptized into his death? Therefore we have been buried with him by baptism into death so that, just as Christ was raised from the dead by the glory of the Father, so we too might walk in newness of life."[1] Clearly he teaches that we have been baptized so that we might conform ourselves to our Lord in his death and resurrection. We make memory of what was; we also receive confirmation of our hope in what is to come. As to participation in the holy mysteries he says, "For as often as you eat this bread and drink this cup, you proclaim the Lord's death until he comes."[2] Our Lord also said, "This is my Body which is broken for you, and this is my Blood which is poured out for the forgiveness of sins."[3] So it is evident that both participation in the liturgy and the reception of Communion are to recall Christ's death and resurrection by which all of us will be united with him. We do so in such a way that in this mystery we carry out the events that occurred in regard to Christ our Savior so that, as experience has shown us, our bonds with him may be strengthened. [. . .]

XIV. *Those who approach the gift of holy baptism are to present themselves to* 3385
God's Church, and by doing so they understand that they will arrive at the life of the heavenly abode. But since they come to a new and wonderful city, and since they desire to become children of this city, they are to do what is required in order to be enrolled. And so they reach the Church of God where *they are received by the person designated for this since it is the custom that those who come to be baptized have their names inscribed. Inquiries are made concerning their way of life* to discover whether it is such that they can become inhabitants of this great city. After renouncing the evil of this world and by absolutely removing themselves from it, even in spirit, they must show that they are worthy to live in this city and to have their names inscribed there. This is why, since they are guests in the city and strangers to its customs, one of the citizens of this city who is specially appointed will accompany them, someone who will know their lives and will accompany them to the one who will inscribe their names. Those appointed testify that the candidates are worthy to reside in the city and that they themselves are willing to be guides for those who lack experience here.

XV. *For those to be baptized this role is carried out by the "sponsors."* To be 3386
sure, it is not for future sins that the sponsor is responsible since each of us answers to God for our own sins. As to the candidates, the sponsor gives witness of what they have done and of how they have prepared themselves to become worthy of this city and of the life that is led here. Rightly

1. Rom 6:3–4. 2. 1 Cor 11:26. 3. Matt 26:26, 28.

are such persons called "sponsors" because it is on their word that the candidates are judged worthy to be baptized. [. . .]

3387 XVI. [. . .] All of us who are under his rule must pray and desire to come to baptism by means of faith and in order to obtain the benefit of being enrolled in heaven. As to those of you who are candidates for baptism, this is why *a person specially designated for this task inscribes your name in a book of the Church, joining in this book your name to that of your witness or your guide in the city and its way of life,* namely, your "sponsor." [. . .]

3388 XXII. [. . .] Since you are not capable on your own of pleading and fighting against Satan, *it is necessary to use the service of those who are called "exorcists."* They are your guarantee of divine assistance. Loudly and at length they request that your enemy be punished and that by sentence of the judge Satan be ordered to stand far off so that he may not have even the least occasion or possibility of doing evil against you. In this way may we absolutely escape his slavery; may we enjoy true freedom and the happiness of our present enrollment.

3389 XXIII. [. . .] *During the exorcisms you stand motionless;* you say absolutely nothing; you stand as if you were still trembling and in fear of the Usurper, even incapable of looking at him because of the great evil he did to you and your forebears. He led you into captivity and for a long time had you submit to a harsh and cruel servitude, inflicting upon you indelible scars by the punishment of death, long keeping you in a slavery of your own making.

3390 XXIV. *You stand with outstretched hands, in the posture of a person who prays; you look downwards in order to obtain the mercy of the judge. Removing your outer garment, you stand barefoot* in order to show in yourself this evil slavery during which you long served the devil as a captive and accomplice, doing all he demanded. The purpose here is to move the judge to mercy. It is this posture of captivity that God's word indicates, for Isaiah says, "Just as my servant Isaiah has walked naked and barefoot for three years as a sign and portent to Egypt and Ethiopia, so shall the king of Assyria lead away the Egyptians as captives and the Ethiopians as exiles, both the young and the old, naked and barefoot."[4]

3391 XXV. *You also stand on sackcloth.* Pricking your feet and stung by the roughness of the cloth, may all this recall the evil you formerly did. Show yourself afflicted and penitent for the sins of your forebears, the sins that led us to such evil tribulation. May you, as a result, receive the mercy of the judge and rightly say, "You have removed my sackcloth and girded me with joy."[5] This is the meaning of the exorcisms. Now that you have decided to undertake so great a venture, you are not to remain idle and without work. *During the remaining days you are to meditate on the words of the creed* so that you might understand them. Its words are placed on your

4. Isa 20:3–4. 5. Ps 30:11.

lips so that by continuous meditation you might be able to recite them by heart. [. . .]

XXVII. Just as when someone desires to enter a house whose master pos- 3392
sesses worldly authority, doing so in order to carry out some task there, it is not to the master himself that a person goes to draw up a contract or to reach some agreement—such a conversation would be below the master of the house—but one goes to the household manager with whom an agreement is reached as to the work to be done; it is through the manager that one conducts business with the master and owner of the house and all within it. The same holds true for you who present yourselves to the "household of God which is the Church of the living God,"[6] as blessed Paul says, because God is much greater than we; in nature God is far above us and is ever invisible, the God "who dwells in unapproachable light," as blessed Paul says.[7] So it is that we present ourselves to the manager of this large house, of the Church. This manager is the bishop who has been found worthy of presiding over the Church. The creed is recited before him. It is through him that we reach an accord and pact with God as to our faith. We promise to be submissive to God, to serve God, to persevere always, and ever to keep God's love without change. After we make our contract and promise to our Lord God by reciting the creed, it is through the bishop that we become worthy to enter the Lord's house, to enjoy it, to know it, to inhabit it, and to be enrolled in the city and among its citizens. We then have great confidence. [. . .]

138-A-2. HOMILY 13. ON BAPTISM (2)

Synopsis. Once again you stand upon sackcloth, with bare feet, having taken 3393
off your outer garment, with hands outstretched toward God as in an attitude of prayer. First you kneel. You kneel but the rest of your body remains upright. You say, "I renounce Satan, all his angels, all his service, all his vanity, and all his worldly affairs; and I bind myself by a vow. I believe, and I am baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit." Your knees are on the ground, but the rest of your body remains upright, and you look upward toward heaven, hands outstretched in a posture of prayer. The bishop, wearing a robe of clean and shining linen, signs you on the forehead with the oil of the anointing and says, "N. is signed in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit." Your sponsor, standing behind you, spreads a linen cloth over your head and raises you up, having you stand erect.

1. We have already given you sufficient instruction about the ceremo- 3394
nies that, according to early tradition, are performed for those who are to be baptized. When you go to be enrolled, in the hope of living in heaven, of being citizens there, you have in the exorcism a type of lawsuit against the devil. By a divine sentence you are set free from his slavery. And so

6. 1 Tim 3:15. 7. 1 Tim 6:16.

you recite the words of the creed and of the Lord's Prayer; through them and through the bishop you make a covenant and a pact with God. You pledge to persevere in love of God. This, if you think fitting things, will be a source of magnificent gifts, namely, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit; you pledge to conduct yourself in this world as best you can and in a way consonant with the life and citizenship of heaven. But it is right that you now be taught in regard to what happens in the sacrament itself because if you learn the reason for this, then you will acquire a knowledge that is of no little importance. When by the exorcisms you have escaped the slavery of the Usurper and when you have made a contract with God by means of solemn promises and by reciting the creed, you will approach the sacrament itself. But you must learn how this happens.

3395 II. *Once again you stand upon sackcloth, with bare feet, having taken off your outer garment, with hands outstretched toward God as in an attitude of prayer.* In all this you imitate the posture during the exorcisms whereby you signified your ancient captivity and your slavery, being a dire punishment to the Usurper. Yet, having cast away this posture and these memories, you approach the sacrament which promises participation in the good that is to come. You recall your former sins in order to show from what you were set free and toward what you will turn.

3396 III. *First you kneel. You kneel but the rest of your body remains upright.* With the posture of one who prays, you stretch out your arms toward God. All of us, in fact, have fallen into sin, and the sentence of death has forced us to the ground. But "at the name of Jesus every knee should bend," according to the blessed apostle Paul, and "confess that Jesus Christ is Lord to the glory of God the Father."[1] By this confession we indicate what comes to us from God thanks to the economy of Christ our Lord, whom God raised up to heaven and showed as the Lord of the universe and the giver of our salvation. Because these things have to be accomplished by all of us who have "fallen to the ground,"[2] according to the words of blessed Paul, it is right that you through the sacrament will participate in the ineffable benefits[3] to which faith in Christ our Lord calls you; you should bend your knees, manifest your past fall, and adore God, who is the source of all good.

3397 IV. The rest of your body is erect and looks toward heaven. In this way you pray to God and ask that you be permitted to escape from your past fall and be allowed to participate in heavenly benefits. While you are kneeling, those in charge of this ministry approach and tell you precisely what the angel said when appearing to Cornelius: "Your prayers have been heard" and your petitions have been granted.[4] [. . .]

3398 V. *"I renounce Satan, all his angels, all his service, all his vanity, and all his worldly affairs; and I bind myself by a vow. I believe, and I am baptized in the*

1. Phil 2:10–11. 2. See Acts 26:14. 3. See 1 Tim 6:2. 4. See Acts 10:3.

name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit." The deacons who approach you at this moment prepare you to say these words. But what power do such words have? [. . .] Now is the time to explain them so that you might know the force of the pact, of the promises, and of the vows through which you joyfully receive such a gift.

The devil, whom you obeyed, caused you numerous and great evils; he 3399
began to do so from the time of your forebears. And so you promise to renounce him because the facts themselves and your own experience make you feel his misdeeds. This is why you say, "I renounce Satan."

Formerly, even if you had so desired, you would not have dared use 3400
these words, being terrified as you were of his servitude. But because of the exorcisms the divine sentence has freed you, and with your own voice you confidently proclaim that you have rejected him. For this reason you say, "I renounce Satan," indicating both your previous association with him and your present rejection of him since no one says that he or she renounces something with which one had no previous association. [. . .]

VII. Now if only Satan himself were waging war against us, and if only 3401
Satan were causing us harm, then these words would be sufficient since they show that you reject him and completely renounce his friendship. Although invisible, he knows how to struggle against us by using visible beings, those whom he subjected to himself, those whom he made instruments of his wickedness, those whom he once caused to fall. For this reason you add, "and all his angels."

VIII. Those called "his angels" are all who have received some type of 3402
evil from him through which they harm others. [. . .] Angels of Satan are all who serve the devil, doing so in order to deceive people and to cause them to fall. In our opinion "angels of Satan" are all who serve profane wisdom and spread the error of paganism throughout the world. Surely the angels of Satan are all those poets who by their fables promote idolatry and by their "wisdom" strengthen the error of paganism. [. . .]

X. Having said, "I renounce Satan and all his angels," you continue with 3403
"and all his service." This means that you should turn away with horror from all that they do under the name of instruction, this obviously being an act of godlessness. The "service of Satan" is whatever has a connection with paganism, not only sacrifices, the adoration of idols, and all that is done in worship according to ancient custom, but also whatever has its origins there and corrupts the human soul. [. . .]

XI. You also say, "And all your vanity." Satan's vanity is, as it were, a 3404
clear term which names all that the pagans did under the name of religion because they flaunted all such actions before the world in order to fascinate those looking on and to deceive all others. Since by God's grace all these things have today been abolished, nonetheless, we must not think any less of the rites performed by the heretics. Satan, having seen that the error of paganism was abolished by the name of Christ, used other means to lead people astray. He invented heresies and raised up heretical leaders

so that, by imitating the Church's ceremonies and by invoking the divine names, they might deceive the simple, thus leading them to damnation.

3405 XII. After this you say, "And all his worldly glamor." His "glamor" is the theater, the circus, the foot-race, athletic games, worldly songs, water-organs, dances, whatever the devil sows in this world so that under the guise of amusement he might bring about the downfall of the human soul. [. . .]

3406 XIII. Having said "I renounce Satan, his angels, his service, his deception, and all his worldly glamor," you say, "And I take a vow; I believe; and I am baptized in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit." When you say, "I renounce Satan," you intend to completely stay away from Satan, not to return to him, nor any longer to be associated with him. When you say, "I take a vow," you show that you will steadfastly remain with God, that you will henceforth be united with God, that in no way will you be separated from God, and that you will henceforth believe it more precious than anything else to be and to live with God, to act in conformity with God's laws.

3407 XIV. It is also necessary to add "I believe" since whoever approaches God must believe that God exists, as blessed Paul says.[5] [. . .] You also add "I am baptized" to the "I believe" since it is with faith in what will be that you will draw near to the gift of holy baptism in order to be reborn, to die with Christ, to rise with him, so that after having thus received a second birth in place of the first you might enter heaven. [. . .]

3408 XV. To all this you add "in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit," for this is the divine nature. It is the Being that exists from all eternity; it is the cause of everything; it first created us and now renews us; it is the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. [. . .]

3409 XVI. You make your vows and promises while in the posture described above: *"your knees are on the ground,"* both as a sign of your adoration of God as well as a reminder of your former fall to the ground. *The rest of your body remains upright, and you look upward toward heaven, hands outstretched in a posture of prayer.* Thus you show yourself as adoring God in heaven and your hope of rising from your fall. [. . .]

3410 XVII. Once you have made your vows and promises, *the bishop* approaches, dressed not as customary nor clothed as before but *wearing a robe of clean and shining linen.* His new appearance manifests the newness of the world to which you will go; his radiance shows that you will shine in the other world; his cleanliness indicates the refinement of the world to come. [. . .] *He signs you on your forehead with the oil of the anointing and says, "N. is signed in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit."* These are the first fruits of the sacrament, a sacrament that can only be given "in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy

5. See Heb 11:6.

Spirit." The bishop begins the sacrament with the name from which you anticipate receiving all good things. [. . .] The seal by which you are now signed shows that you are henceforth marked as a sheep of Christ, as a soldier of the heavenly King. [. . .]

XIX. [. . .] *Your sponsor, standing behind you, spreads a linen cloth over your head and raises you up, having you stand erect.* By rising from kneeling you show that you have left behind your former fall, that you have nothing to do with the world and worldly affairs, that your adoration of God and your prayer to God have been pleasing, that you have received the seal, a sign that you have been chosen for ineffable service, that you have been called to heaven. From now on it is to this dwelling place and to this kind of life that you must journey, remaining far away from all worldly things. The linen cloth extended over your head reveals the freedom to which you are henceforth called. First of all, to be sure, you stand naked as do captives and slaves. But once you have been signed, over your head is extended a linen cloth, a sign of the freedom to which you have been called. Those who are free customarily spread a linen on their heads as an ornament, wearing it both at home and in public. 3411

XX. Having been thus identified and marked as a soldier of Christ our Lord, you will receive the rest of the sacraments and will put on the full armor of the Spirit. Doing so, you will participate in the good things of heaven. [. . .] 3412

138-A-3. HOMILY 14. ON BAPTISM (3)

Synopsis. Then you approach holy baptism. First you remove all your clothing. You are anointed as prescribed all over your body with the oil of anointing. The bishop begins and says, "N. is anointed in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit." You go down into the water, which has been consecrated by the blessing of the bishop. The bishop stands and extends his hand, which he places on your forehead. He says, "N. is baptized in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit." Wearing the same garb as previously, the bishop lays his hand upon your head and says, "In the name of the Father." While saying this, he immerses you into the water. If, in fact, you were allowed to speak at this time, you would say, "Amen." And so you are immersed; then you lift your head while the bishop says, "and of the Son" and he places his hand to immerse you as previously. You raise your head. Then the bishop says, "and of the Holy Spirit," and in like manner he immerses you with his hand. When you exit the water, you put on a radiant garment. The bishop comes forward, signs you on the forehead, and says, "N. is signed in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit." 3413

II. You know the effects of the signing since we spoke sufficiently about them yesterday. Today we must say something about the ceremonies that follow since you are now approaching baptism itself in which the figures of this new birth will take place. You will truly receive this new birth only when you have risen from among the dead and when you will have 3414

regained all that death has taken from you. It is evident that whoever is born comes into existence whereas whoever dies certainly ceases to exist. At the resurrection you will gain a second birth, rising from the dead to a second existence just as when you were born of a woman you entered into the existence you lost because of death. All this will happen to you at the time appointed for your rebirth at the resurrection. Now you have faith in Christ our Lord. Yet while you await the resurrection, you must be satisfied with the signs of this wonderful sacrament by which you will surely participate in future benefits.

3415 III. You are drawing near to holy baptism where there is the sign of the birth you are awaiting. For this reason Christ our Lord called it a second birth as when he said to Nicodemus, "No one can see the Kingdom of God without being born from above."[1] Here he shows that those wishing to enter God's Kingdom are to be born a second time. But Nicodemus believed that this second birth spoken of by Jesus was akin to carnal birth from a woman. He said, "How can anyone be born after having grown old? Can one enter a second time into the mother's womb and be born?"[2] Nicodemus said this because he imagined that this second birth would be like our first birth. As to our Lord, he did not say that there are two ways in which we receive this second birth, one being at the resurrection. Christ did not tell Nicodemus this, knowing that the reality was too great for his understanding. He told Nicodemus only of the birth that occurs at baptism, that received by all believers so that by its signs they may possess the reality itself. He says, "What is born of the flesh is flesh, and what is born of the Spirit is spirit."[3] He does not mention water because water is the sacramental sign. He says, "Spirit" because it is through the working of the Spirit that this birth takes place. [. . .]

3416 VIII. *Then you approach holy baptism. First you remove all your clothing.* As Adam was nude in the beginning and was in no way ashamed—it was only after breaking the commandment and after becoming mortal that he needed an outer garment—so also you, who will present yourself for the gift of holy baptism in order to be born again and to become symbolically immortal, will remove your garment, a sign of mortality, a convincing proof of God's judgment which brings you so low as to need a garment. Once you have disrobed, *you are anointed as prescribed all over your body with the oil of anointing*, this being a sign of the garment of immortality with which you will be clothed by means of baptism. When you have removed the garment, which is a sign of mortality, by the anointing you receive a sign of the garment of immortality, which you anticipate receiving through baptism. Your whole body is anointed. Unlike a garment which does not always hide all parts of the body—although covering all the external parts, it does not do the same for what is within—our whole

1. John 3:3. 2. John 3:4. 3. John 3:6.

nature will be covered with immortality at the time of the resurrection. All that we have, whether it be within or without, will surely become incorruptible according to the working of the Holy Spirit who will then be with us. And so you receive this anointing when *the bishop begins and says, "N. is anointed in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit."* Those appointed for this task anoint your whole body.

IX. After this and at the moment I indicated to you, *you go down into the water, which has been consecrated by the blessing of the bishop.* Surely it is not simply with ordinary water that you are baptized but with the water of a second birth. It can only become such by the coming of the Holy Spirit. It is necessary that beforehand the bishop, using specific words, asks God that the Holy Spirit come upon the water, giving it the power both to bring forth a wonderful birth and to make the water itself the womb of a sacramental rebirth. [. . .] 3417

X. [. . .] When the water has been prepared by the coming of the Holy Spirit and when it has received such power, you immediately go down into it, waiting to receive its awe-inspiring life. 3418

XIV. [. . .] *The bishop stands and extends his hand, which he places on your forehead. He says, "N. is baptized in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. He wears the same garb as previously,* namely, the clothing he wore while you were kneeling and when he signed your forehead. It is the same apparel he wore when he consecrated the oil. Wearing this garment he celebrates the gift of baptism because it is fitting that he should celebrate these sacramental rites while being clothed in the same garment which symbolizes the renewed world to which this sacrament carries you. He says, "N. is baptized in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit," thereby indicating to you the very origin of this gift. This is why he also says, "N. is signed in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit." This corresponds to what our Lord said, "Go therefore and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit."[4] These words show that the cause of these gifts is the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, who exist from all eternity and who created all things. [. . .] 3419

XV. The bishop places his hand on your head and says, "N. is baptized in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit." He does not say, "I baptize" but "N. is baptized." In like manner he did not previously say, "I sign" but "N. is signed," thus showing that no human is capable of granting such a gift. [. . .] 3420

XVIII. *The bishop lays his hand upon your head and says, "In the name of the Father." While saying this, he immerses you into the water.* You obey him as you follow his spoken directions and his gestures while you go down under the water; you bow your head as if to signify that you agree to 3421

4. Matt 28:19.

receive the blessings of baptism from the Father as the bishop says. *If, in fact, you were allowed to speak at this time, you would say, "Amen,"* a word used as a sign of our assent to the words of the bishop. According to blessed Paul, "How can anyone in the position of an outsider say 'Amen' to your thanksgiving?"[5] Paul shows that this word is the people's reply to the words of the bishop, and by this word they truly assent to what is said. At the moment of baptism you are not allowed to speak, but it is in silence and awe that you are to be renewed by the mysteries. By immersing yourself and by bowing your head you show that you assent to what the bishop says.

3422 XIX. *And so you are immersed; then you lift your head while the bishop says, "and of the Son," and places his hand to immerse you as previously.* Again being immersed in the same way, you show that you assent to the bishop's words, and as a sign that it is from the Son that you anticipate receiving the benefits of baptism, *you raise your head. Then the bishop says, "and of the Holy Spirit." In like manner he immerses you with his hand.* Again you go down into the water, humbly showing by the same sign that it is from the Holy Spirit that you await the benefits of baptism. [. . .]

3423 XXVI. When you leave the water, you put on a radiant garment. It is a sign of a brilliant world, a sign of the life and conduct to which you have already passed. Once you experience the resurrection in reality and have clothed yourself with immortality and incorruptibility, such a garment will no longer be needed. But since this has not yet happened to you, and since you have received these gifts only by means of symbols and signs, you now have need of such garments. You clothe yourself with them. They represent the happiness you have received symbolically but which in the future you will possess in reality.

3424 XXVII. Once you have received the grace of baptism and clothed yourself with the radiant white garment, *the bishop comes forward, signs you on the forehead, and says, "N. is signed in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit."* When Jesus emerged from the water, he received the grace of the Holy Spirit who came upon him under the form of a dove. This is why we say that he was anointed with the Holy Spirit—"the Spirit of the Lord is upon me because he has anointed me"[6] and "Jesus of Nazareth, whom God anointed with the Holy Spirit and with power,"[7] texts showing that the Holy Spirit is never apart from Jesus. Likewise the Spirit is with those who are anointed by men with oil and can no more be separated. It is necessary that you also receive a "signing" on the forehead. *While signing you, the bishop says, "N. is signed in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit"* so that you might have a sign and a mark that when the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit were named, the Holy Spirit also came upon you, that you were anointed with the Spirit, that you received the power of the Holy Spirit, and that the Spirit remains in you. [. . .]

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5. 1 Cor 14:16. 6. Luke 4:18. 7. Acts 10:38.

138-A-4. HOMILY 15. ON THE EUCHARIST (1)

Synopsis. We must first of all understand that what we eat is a kind of sacrifice that we perform. It is the office of the high priest of the New Covenant to offer this sacrifice by which the New Covenant appears to consist. We must view the bishop who approaches the altar as representing his image. We must believe that the deacons present an image of the liturgy of these invisible spirits. They also wear garments that reflect their true status since these garments make them seem more impressive than they are. On the left shoulder they wear a stole which hangs down. 3425

We must see Christ who is now being led and taken to his passion and who at another time is stretched on the altar to be sacrificed for us. For this reason the deacons who spread the linens on the altar give us a representation of the burial clothes. The deacons stand on both sides and use fans to circulate the air above the holy body. This occurs while all are silent. Then comes time for prayer, no longer in silence but proclaimed by the deacon. While all stand in silence, the bishop begins the prayer over the offerings. After this he gives thanks for himself. Those present say, "Amen." The bishop prays that peace be with them. All present respond, "And with your spirit." The church's herald in a loud voice requests that all share the peace with one another. The bishop washes his hands first, and all the priests present, as numerous as they may be, also do so. From the rolls of the church are read the names of the living and of the dead. The bishop approaches for the liturgy. The church's herald cries out, "Look to the offering." 3426

II. Once you receive the true birth of the resurrection, you will receive another food, one too sublime for words. Clearly you will be nourished by the grace of the Spirit by which your body will remain immortal and your soul will remain without change. It is a food that benefits this birth; the grace of the Spirit will grant those born of the resurrection to remain firm so that their bodies may not decay, so that their souls may not suffer any change that incites them to evil. 3427

III. Because we are now born symbolically through baptism in the hope of the other birth that we are awaiting, at present we receive as a pledge the first fruits of the grace of the Holy Spirit,[1] which will then be given us, who expect to receive these fully in the future world through the resurrection. Having received this food, we hope to become immortal and changeless. We are now to eat—symbolically and by the grace of the Holy Spirit—a food suitable to our present life in the world. 3428

Blessed Paul said, "For as often as you eat this bread and drink this cup, you proclaim the Lord's death until he comes."[2] Paul shows that when our Lord comes from heaven, when he reveals the life to come and brings about the resurrection of all—making us immortal in body and unchangeable in soul—then the use of symbols and figures will necessarily cease. We, existing in reality itself, will no longer have any need for signs to remind us of what will take place. 3429

1. See Rom 8:23. 2. 1 Cor 11:26.

3430 IV. Two things give us life in this world: birth and nourishment. By birth we come into existence; through nourishment we continue our existence. Those who are born will die if they lack nourishment. [. . .]

3431 IX. Our Lord gave us the bread and the cup because it is through food and drink that we continue to live here on earth. He calls the bread his "Body" and the cup his "Blood" because his passion affected his body which it tormented and from which it caused his blood to flow forth; of these two [Body and Blood] by which his passion took place, he used the symbols of food and drink to reveal for us the immortal; it is in waiting to receive life immortal that we receive this sacrament which, as we believe, gives us a firm hope of benefits to come.

3432 X. When giving the bread Christ did not say, "This is the symbol of my body" but "This is my Body." Likewise when presenting the cup, he did not say, "This is the symbol of my blood," but "This is my Blood." The reason he did not do so was his desire that we should consider the bread and the cup, which have received the grace and coming of the Holy Spirit, not according to their natures, but we should receive them as they are, namely, our Lord's Body and Blood. Our Lord's body did not of its proper nature possess immortality and the power to bestow immortality; this is the gift of the Holy Spirit. [. . .]

3433 XI. [. . .] If, therefore, the nature of the life-giving Spirit changed our Lord's body into what its nature did not formerly possess, we also, who have received the grace of the Spirit through sacramental signs, are no longer to look upon the elements as bread and wine but as Christ's Body and Blood. They were transformed by the grace of the Holy Spirit. By the Spirit they become to those partaking of them that which we believe happens to the faithful through our Lord's Body and Blood. This is why he says, "I am the bread that came down from heaven" and "I am the bread of life."[3] To show them what he understood by bread, he said, "The bread that I will give for the life of the world is my flesh."[4] Since it is by bread and other food that we continue to live, he refers to himself as the bread of life that has come down from heaven, as if to say, "Truly it is I who am the bread of life which gives immortality to those who believe in me by means of this visible body. For its sake I came down. By my body I granted immortality to those who believe in me." [. . .]

3434 XIV. In the cup Christ our Lord gives you wine as a sign of his blood. One can see this. But the wine is mixed with water, either because this was the customary way to drink wine or because it is appropriate that water be added to the cup since one cannot make bread without adding water. Just as this sign was used for the baptismal birth, so we also use the same sign in the sacrament of our food and drink. [. . .]

3435 XV. *We must first of all understand that what we eat is a kind of sacrifice that we perform.* To be sure, even though in the food and in the drink we

3. John 6:41, 48. 4. John 6:51.

commemorate the death of our Lord, we believe that these make memory of his passion since he indeed said, "This is my Body which is broken for you."[5] Yet it is clear that in the liturgy we offer sacrifice. *It is the office of the High Priest of the New Covenant to offer this sacrifice by which the New Covenant appears to consist.* Evidently it is a sacrifice, but it is not something new, not something the bishop offers as his own. It is a remembrance of the true offering. [. . .]

XXI. Since Christ our Lord offered himself for us as a sacrifice and thus became in reality our high priest, *we must view the bishop who approaches the altar as representing his image*—not as offering his own sacrifice. He does not offer his own sacrifice since he is not in truth the High Priest. [. . .] Here also, when this awesome liturgy is celebrated, *we must believe that the deacons present an image of the liturgy of these invisible spirits.* They have been chosen to carry out this wonderful service by the grace of the Holy Spirit. 3436

XXII. For this reason we also are called "ministers" of Christ; all of us who have been chosen for ministry, as blessed Paul says, "Inasmuch as I am an apostle to the Gentiles, I glorify my ministry."[6] But this name is fitting only to those who carry out this ministry and whom all call "deacons." Only they are appointed for this ministry and resemble those sent forth as servants.[7] 3437

XXIII. *They also wear garments that reflect their true status since these garments make them seem more impressive than they are.* Dressing in this way is appropriate to their ministry. *On the left shoulder they wear a stole which hangs down* in front of and behind them. It shows that their ministry is one of freedom, not servitude, since the purpose of their ministry is to lead to freedom all who are worthy of the great house of God, namely, the Church. They do not place the stole around the neck so that both ends hang down since no household servant dresses in this way; it is only those who are free and who are far distant from any kind of servitude who customarily wear it in this way. But the deacon places it on his shoulder since he is appointed to serve. The stole is the sign of the freedom to which all of us believers in Christ have been called; and we hasten to go to and to dwell in "the household of God, which is the Church of the living God, the pillar and bulwark of truth,"[8] as blessed Paul says. It is to serve all that they are entrusted with their roles. 3438

XXIV. [. . .] The deacons bring forth and place upon the altar this awesome sacrifice or rather the signs of this sacrifice. They arrange them on the awe-inspiring altar. [. . .] 3439

XXV. By means of signs *we must see Christ who is now being led and taken to his passion and who at another time is stretched on the altar to be sacrificed for us.* When, in fact, the offering which will be placed on the altar is brought out, you are to believe that Christ our Lord comes forth, being led to his passion. [. . .] We must, therefore, believe that the deacons who are now 3440

5. Matt 26:26. 6. Rom 11:13. 7. See Heb 1:14. 8. 1 Tim 3:15.

bringing in the "bread" for the offering represent the invisible "serving spirits,"[9] and yet their ministry and these remembrances do not send Christ our Lord to his life-giving passion.

3441 XXVI. When they bring out the bread, they place it on the holy altar for the perfect representation of the passion. In this regard we believe that the altar upon which Christ, having suffered, is placed resembles a type of tomb. *For this reason the deacons who spread the linens on the altar give us a representation of the burial clothes.* After the linens have been spread out, *the deacons stand on both sides and use fans to circulate the air above the holy body* so that nothing corrupt might come near. By so doing they show the greatness of the body placed there. When the dead body of one of the world's notables is placed on a bier, it is customary that it be fanned as a sign of honor. So it is proper that this be done to the body lying upon the altar, a body that is holy, awe-inspiring, and incorruptible, a body that in the not distant future will rise with immortality. Those appointed to this task encircle the body and fan it, thereby giving it appropriate honor and showing to all present its greatness.

3442 XXVIII. *This occurs while all are silent.* Even before the liturgy begins, those present are to look on, doing so with recollection, with awe, and in silent prayer as the body is brought forth and arranged on the altar. After our Lord died, the disciples withdrew and spent time in a house where they experienced fear and observed great silence. An ineffable silence spread everywhere; even the invisible powers remained apart, looking forward to the expected resurrection. When Christ our Lord rose, the apostles felt untold joy and happiness. [. . .]

3443 XXIX. This recalls for us our Lord's passion. Seeing the offering on the altar—as if it were a dead body placed in a type of tomb—all become quiet because of the wonderful things taking place. So with awe and quiet all are to look at it because at this moment, by reason of the wonderful liturgy that takes place according to the priestly rules, Christ our Lord is to rise and announce to all a share in his wonderful benefits. In the offering we recall our Lord's death, which proclaims the resurrection and wonderful blessings.

3444 XXX. *Then comes time for prayer, no longer in silence but proclaimed by the deacon* who, as we know, gives the signal for—and the purpose of—all that happens in the church. In fact, what the assembly is to do is made known by the proclamation of the deacon who requests and recalls to all what those gathered in God's church are to do.

3445 XXXI. Once the deacon has concluded his particular task of exhorting aloud all to say prayers appropriate to church gatherings and *while all stand in silence, the bishop begins the prayer* [over the offerings]. He begins by praying to God because before all other things pertaining to religion, it

9. Heb 1:14.

is with prayer that he is to begin. This is especially true for this wonderful liturgy which we can offer only with divine assistance. The bishop concludes by thanking our Lord for the great things he has given for our salvation and life and for having granted us knowledge of these great mysteries, which recall the wonderful gift given us by his passion, namely, his promise to raise us all from among the dead and to help us ascend to heaven.

XXXII. *After this he gives thanks for himself* because Christ has made him a minister of so wonderful a sacrament. He then requests that the grace of the Holy Spirit, by which he attained the priesthood, now be granted him. In this way he may be worthy of so great a ministry and by God's grace be free from all evil intentions and fear of punishment as he approaches what is far above himself. 3446

XXXIII. Once the bishop has concluded this prayer and others similar to it, those present say "Amen," a word of agreement confirming the bishop's prayer. Paul speaks of this: "How can anyone in the position of an outsider say the 'Amen' to your thanksgiving since the outsider does not know what you are saying?"[10] The people are to say "Amen" to show that they agree with the bishop's prayers and thanksgivings. 3447

XXXIV. After the people have said "Amen," *the bishop prays that peace be with them.* This is the appropriate way to begin services that take place in the church assembly, especially the awe-inspiring liturgy since blessed Paul begins all his letters with "Grace and peace be with you." [. . .] 3448

XXXV. A regulation coming from the very early Church is that those who have been deemed worthy to carry out the duties of a priest should begin all that is done in the assembly with these words, especially such an awesome sacrament. And so the bishop prays, "Peace to all." This announces the magnificent blessings whose symbol and sign is the divine liturgy, which is the memorial of our Lord's death and by means of which these and similar blessings have been promised us. *All present respond, "And with your spirit."* 3449

XXXVI. And so they reply with the same prayer. In this way they make known to the bishop and to all that not only do others need a blessing and the bishop's prayer but that the bishop himself also needs the prayer of all. Consequently according to the regulation established in the beginning, bishops as well as others in the assembly are mentioned in all the Church's prayers because "we are all members of our Lord Jesus Christ"[11] and "we are" all "members of one another."[12] And so the bishop's role is that of a member who is more honored than the other members of the Body. Let me explain this. The bishop is the eye or the tongue. As the eye he sees what everyone is doing, and with priestly concern he corrects and directs all according to the rule of the priesthood; as the tongue he presents the prayers of all. But if the eye and the tongue need other members 3450

10. 1 Cor 14:16. 11. 1 Cor 12:27. 12. Eph 4:25.

of the body if they are to carry out their functions, so it is necessary that these other members be healthy and whole. [. . .] This is why the bishop blesses the people at the "peace" and then receives their blessing as they respond, "And with your spirit."

3451 XXXVII. It is not the bishop's soul that the people have in mind when they say, "And with your spirit" but the grace of the Holy Spirit by which those confided to his care believe that he is called to the priesthood. As blessed Paul says, "God, whom I serve with my spirit by announcing the gospel of his Son,"[13] as if to say, "By the gift of the grace of the Holy Spirit who was given to me so that I might serve the Gospel and so that all of you might be joined to my spirit." In other words, "I have received from God the ability to do this and similar things and have found no rest for my spirit," namely, "I was unable to do what a person who serves the Holy Spirit is to do for the good of others because he who should have assisted me is absent."

3452 XXXIX. Once the blessings have taken place, *the church's herald,* namely, the deacon, *in a loud voice requests that all share the peace with one another.* The bishop begins. All follow his example by exchanging the peace with one another. By doing so they demonstrate their unity with and their love for one another. As far as possible each of us gives the peace to our neighbor, indicating, as it were, that all share the peace with all the others because by doing so we profess that all of us are to be the one Body of Christ our Lord. We are to show mutual love to one another. We are to support and assist one another. We are to consider the affairs of others as affairs of the whole community. We are to sympathize with the sorrows of others and rejoice in the good things that happen to them.

3453 XL. Through baptism we have received the one new birth because by it we are joined into one natural body. It is the same food that all of us take when we receive the same Body and the same Blood and become more closely joined in the single body of baptism. As blessed Paul said, "Because there is one bread, we who are many are one Body, for we all partake of one bread."[14] And so before approaching the solemn mysteries, we must follow the custom of sharing the peace; in this way all of us manifest our unity and love for one another. Certainly it is not right for those who form one church body to look down upon any member of the faithful who has shared the same birth so as to become a member of the same body, who is, as we believe, equally a member of Christ our Lord, and who is also nourished by the same food shared at the spiritual table. For this reason our Lord himself said, "If you are angry with a brother or a sister, you will be liable to judgment."[15] So what happens is not only a profession of love but also, as it were, a call that we rid ourselves of all enmity if it seems to us that our complaint against another believer is unjust. [. . .]

13. Rom 1:9. 14. 1 Cor 10:17. 15. Matt 5:22.

XLI. All of us offer the sacrifice with the bishop. Although it is the 3454
bishop who stands when offering, he does so like the tongue for the whole body. All offer together; all share a common blessing; what is offered is shared equally by all. As blessed Paul says regarding the high priest, he "must offer [sacrifice] for his own sins as well as for those of the people."[16] Paul shows that the high priest offers a common sacrifice, being appointed to offer the sacrifice both for himself and for all others. [. . .]

XLII. *The bishop washes his hands first, and all the priests present, as numerous as they may be, also do so.* They do so not to ensure that their hands 3455
are clean—if this were true, all would be required to wash them, some because of their ministry, others because of the offering they will receive—but because the priests are appointed to offer the sacrifice for the whole community, thus reminding all of us that we are to offer ourselves with pure consciences when the sacrifice is offered. [. . .]

XLIII. Then all rise according to the signal given by the deacon and look 3456
at what is happening. *From the rolls of the church are read the names of the living and of the dead* who have died in the faith of Christ, it being clear that included in the small number now mentioned are all the living and the dead. [. . .]

XLIV. When the above-mentioned reading of the names is concluded, *the* 3457
bishop approaches for the liturgy. The church's herald, namely, the deacon—his words clearly indicating what the people are to do as they follow the signs given them by the bishop—first *cries out, "Look to the offering."* In this way he urges everyone to look carefully at the sacrifice since what is taking place is a communal action. The community's sacrifice is immolated, and the community's oblation is offered for all, not only for those who are present but for the absent as well, to the extent that they were with us through faith, were counted as members of God's Church, and have reached the end of life within the Church. It is clear that to immolate the offering and to present the offering are the same since a most holy victim is being immolated and presented to God, for as blessed Paul says, Christ "offered himself once for all."[17] [. . .] "Because of this it is necessary that he [the bishop] also have something to offer."[18] Since our sacrifice represents the sacrifice of Christ, we call it the "offering" or the "presenting of the offering." For this reason it is correct for the deacon before the offering to call out, *"Look to the offering."*

XLV. When all have been told to look at what has been placed on the 3458
altar, and once all that we have described has taken place—things to be done before the sacred liturgy and which were necessary for your instruction and remembrance—the bishop begins the anaphora.[a] [. . .]

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a. Anaphora: the "eucharistic prayer," namely, the consecratory prayer said over the bread and the wine.

16. Heb 5:3. 17. Heb 7:27. 18. Heb 8:3.

138-A-5. HOMILY 16. ON THE EUCHARIST (2)

3459 *Synopsis. The bishop begins the anaphora by blessing the people as follows, "May the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ and the love of God the Father and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit be with all of you." The people respond, "And with your spirit." The bishop says, "Lift up your hearts," and the people answer, "To you, O Lord." The bishop says, "Let us give thanks to the Lord." The people respond, "It is right and just." The bishop then begins to pray the anaphora and to offer the community's sacrifice. The bishop says [lacuna in manuscript] elevating the voice and giving praise, "Holy, holy, holy, Lord of Sabaoth. Heaven and earth are full of your praises." When silence returns and while we are still looking downward, the church's herald cries out, "Let us all stand, doing so with great fear and trembling." But it is now necessary that Christ our Lord rise from among the dead by the power of what is taking place and that he should extend his grace to all of us. The bishop also requests that the grace of the Holy Spirit come upon all who have gathered. He makes supplication for all those who are customarily remembered in church. He then recalls the deceased.*

3460 *The bishop concludes these prayers, immediately takes the holy bread into his hands and looks up to heaven. He breaks the bread while praying for the people, asking that God's grace be with them. The people reply with the customary words. With the bread he makes the sign of the cross over the Blood and with the Blood over the bread. For this reason it is required that we drop piece by piece the life-giving bread into the cup. We must pray for the person who has presented this holy offering. And before all else we are to pray to our Lord for those who brought the holy offering. The bishop blesses the people, who respond in the usual way while all bow their heads as is required. The church's herald cries out, "Let us be attentive." The bishop announces, "What is holy to those who are holy." All answer, "There is one holy Father, one holy Son, one Holy Spirit." They continue, "Glory to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit." Now all hasten to receive from the offering. For this reason the officiating bishop is the first to approach and receive. Then each of us approaches, looking downward and with both hands extended. The right hand is extended to receive the offering that is given, but the left hand is placed under it. The bishop, when giving Communion, says, "The Body of Christ." This is why, after the bishop, you say, "Amen." The same applies to the cup. After receiving Communion, rightly do you thank and bless God. You will remain in the church so that with all the others you may give praise and thanks according to the Church's practice.*

3461 II. After the deacon says, *"Look to the offering,"* and while all, as the deacon announced, are doing so, *the bishop begins the anaphora by blessing the people as follows: "May the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ and the love of God the Father and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit be with all of you."*[1] He believes that now, before the liturgy, the people should be blessed by these most precious words of the apostle. [. . .] Some priests only say,

1. 2 Cor 13:13.

"May the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with all of you," thus shortening what the apostle wrote. *The people respond, "And with your spirit."* As is required, when the bishop blesses the people, doing so either with "grace" or with "peace," all present respond in the manner I have already explained.

III. After this blessing the bishop prepares the people by saying *"Lift* 3462
up your hearts" to show that even though we are to perform the awe-inspiring, ineffable liturgy here on earth, we are to look and to direct our souls toward heaven because we are commemorating Christ our Lord's sacrifice and death, Christ who suffered for us and was raised, who was joined to the divine nature, and who is seated at the right hand of God in heaven. And so we must direct our minds there and from this memorial transfer our hearts to heaven.

IV. *The people respond, "To you, O Lord."* By these words the people show 3463
they are intent on doing this. And when the bishop has prepared and directed the hearts and minds of the people, he says, *"Let us give thanks to the Lord."* It is for what has been done for us and for what we are to remember in this liturgy that we should especially give thanks to God, the source of all goodness. To this *the people respond, "It is right and just."* They profess that it is right to do so, either because of the greatness of God, who is the source of such gifts, or because it is right that those receiving such benefits not be ungrateful to their benefactor.

V. After all are standing and keeping a respectful silence, *the bishop* 3464
begins the anaphora and offers the community's sacrifice. An all-embracing reverence comes upon all of us because of what has happened, namely, because our Lord died for all of us, and it is in memory of this death that our sacrifice will take place. Since at this moment the bishop is the tongue of the assembly, he uses in this liturgy words that are fitting, words that praise God, words proclaiming that all laud and glory are proper to God. To God belong adoration and service from us all, especially by this memorial of the grace given us and which is beyond the understanding of all creation.

VI. Since it is in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy 3465
Spirit that we have been instructed and baptized, and because it is from them that we should await the fulfillment of what is done, the bishop says, "The greatness of the Father." He adds "and of the Son" since what is due the Father is also due the Son, who truly and really is a Son and is of the same substance as the Father, in no way being inferior to him. The bishop must also mention the Holy Spirit, professing that the Spirit is also of the divine substance. He says that praise and glory are, at all times and before all others, offered to this eternal and divine nature by all visible creatures and by the invisible powers.

He mentions before other creatures the Seraphim who offer that praise 3466
which blessed Isaiah learned of by divine revelation and which he handed down through the Scriptures, the praise all of us who have gathered sing

as if we also were singing what the invisible powers sing, *"Holy, holy, holy, Lord of Sabaoth. Heaven and earth are full of your praises."*[2]

3467 VII. It is required that in this liturgy the bishop, after mentioning the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, says, "May all creation praise and adore the divine nature." He also mentions the Seraph because the Holy Scriptures have them singing this praise, a praise all of us render loudly in the divine song which we, together with the invisible powers, sing in order to serve God. [. . .]

3468 IX. [. . .] We, with reverence and *with eyes cast down,* stand as we bow our heads, being unable to gaze upon so awesome a liturgy. [. . .] We bow our heads both before and after acclaiming the "Holy" because of the greatness of what is taking place. [. . .]

3469 X. *After the people have proclaimed "Holy, holy, holy, Lord of Sabaoth," and when all have gradually become silent,* the bishop continues the liturgy. First he says, "Holy is the Father. Holy also is the Son. Holy alike is the Holy Spirit" so that a profession of faith is made in this holy and eternal nature, and also that he may be seen as clearly understanding the praise offered by the Seraph, a praise heard by the prophet and handed down through the Scriptures. The bishop then recalls the ineffable mercy revealed to us. [. . .] It was very necessary for Christ to give us this mystery which leads to future benefits. In this way we are born again in the sign of baptism so that we may recall the death of our Lord in this most sublime liturgy. We share in the immortal and spiritual food which is our Savior's Body and Blood. When our Lord was about to suffer, he instructed his disciples that all who believe in him are to receive his Body and Blood through these elements. [. . .]

3470 XI. The bishop says these and similar things in the holy liturgy. By recalling what has taken place, he prepares us to see in these offerings the very gift of Christ our Lord. *It is now necessary that Christ our Lord rise from among the dead by the power of what is taking place and that he should extend his grace to all of us.* Yet this can only happen through the coming of the grace of the Holy Spirit. [. . .]

3471 XII. Following church law, the bishop is to request God that the Holy Spirit may descend and that grace may come down upon the bread and wine placed on the altar so that they may truly be seen as our Lord's Body and Blood, the memorial of immortality. The body of Christ our Lord, having the same nature as our own, was originally mortal in nature, but through the resurrection it passed to an immortal and unchangeable nature. So when the bishop says that the bread and wine are Christ's Body and Blood, he reveals that they have become so through the coming of the Holy Spirit, and that through the Holy Spirit they have become immortal—in that the Lord's body, when it was anointed and had received the Holy Spirit, was clearly revealed to be immortal. Still today when the

2. Isa 6:3.

Holy Spirit comes, there is, as it were, a type of anointing conferred by the grace that comes upon the bread and the wine. Henceforth we believe that the bread and the wine are Christ's Body and Blood, immortal, incorruptible, impassible, and unchangeable by nature as was our Savior's body after his resurrection.

XIII. *The bishop also requests that the grace of the Holy Spirit come upon all who have gathered.* Just as by a new birth they grew into one Body, so may they now be strengthened in one Body by sharing the Body of our Savior; may they become one in harmony and peace, and be diligent in good works. [. . .] 3472

XIV. The bishop carries out the divine liturgy in this way, *making supplication for all those who are customarily remembered in church. He then recalls the deceased,* showing that this sacrifice protects us in this world and that after death it grants those who died in the faith that ineffable hope which all the children of the mystery of Christ desire and to which they journey. 3473

XV. *The bishop concludes these prayers, immediately takes the holy bread into his hands, and looks up to heaven.* Keeping his eyes fixed on high, he gives thanks for these great gifts, and *he breaks the bread.* While doing so, *he prays for the people, asking that God's grace be with them.* He says, "May the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you." *The people reply with the customary words. With the bread he makes the sign of the cross over the Blood. He does likewise with the Blood over the bread.* He joins them, bringing them together so as to show that even if they are two, nonetheless, they are one in power and are the memorial of the passion and death undergone by the Lord's body when he shed his blood upon the cross for us. When the bishop makes the sign of the cross over them, he brings them together, uniting them just as the human body is one with its blood, and where the body is, so there is its blood. Thus wherever there is an incision or a cut, whether it be large or small, blood will flow forth according to the size of the wound. This was true for our Lord's body before his passion. Much blood had to have flowed from the wounds he received upon the cross. 3474

XVI. When our Lord gave his body and blood, he said, "This is my Body broken for you for the forgiveness of sins," and "This is my Blood poured out for you for the forgiveness of sins."[3] Our Lord indicated his passion by what he said first; what he said next indicated the violence and extent of this passion during which much blood was shed. So we should follow this tradition and place both the bread and the cup on the altar to show what took place and to recall that these two share the same power because they belong to him who suffered—the body of our Lord and the blood that was poured forth. This is why the bishop, having finished the anaphora, breaks the bread and joins it to the cup while making the sign of the cross over it. In like manner he also brings the cup to the bread, thus showing that they are one, that we are ordered to commemorate the passion in this way. 3475

3. Matt 26:26–28; 1 Cor 11:24–25.

3476 XVII. *For this reason it is required that we drop piece by piece the life-giving bread into the cup* to show that the Body and Blood are inseparable, that they have the same power, and that they confer identical grace to those receiving them.

3477 The bishop breaks the bread and does so for a purpose. It is because Christ our Savior, after rising from among the dead, revealed himself to all his followers—first appearing to the women, then to the eleven disciples and various groups, and finally to all the faithful as when he appeared to Cleopas and his companions.[4] He did this to show that he had risen, and by means of the resurrection he announced to them that they also would join him in the great benefits spoken of in his greeting. He exhorted them to rejoice while awaiting the good things to come. This is why, even to the women to whom he appeared after the resurrection, he said, "Peace be to you."

3478 XVIII. Because of this it is proper, once the liturgy has been completed, that the bishop do what the Lord was the first to do, namely, since it is the memorial of the Lord's death and resurrection, he is to break the bread as the Lord did when he appeared to various people at various times and then to many at the same time so that all might be united with him. [. . .]

3479 XIX. Finally, all the bread is broken so that all the people may receive some of it. Yet we believe that in the portion we receive, we receive the whole Christ. [. . .]

3480 XX. Because of what will take place afterwards, the bishop who offers the sacred and ineffable sacrifice must begin this action. When he has finished the consecratory liturgy [the anaphora], he begins to break the bread as is fitting so that henceforth in this bread we might in our hearts envision Christ our Lord who comes through each portion to the person receiving it. [. . .]

3481 XXI. After this the church's herald makes another announcement, briefly recalling those for whom all are to pray. He begins by saying, *"We must pray for the person who has presented this holy offering,"* as if to say, "for being able to make the offering; we are also to pray that we might become worthy to look upon it, to stand close to it, and to receive it." The bishop then concludes the prayer by requesting that this sacrifice be pleasing to God and that the grace of the Holy Spirit descend upon the whole world so that we might participate in it without punishment since it is immeasurably loftier than we are.

3482 XXII. When the bishop has concluded the prayer with these words, *he blesses the people who respond in the usual way. All bow their heads as is required.* Once this prayer has ended and while all who will receive what is "Holy" are looking on, *the church's herald cries out, "Let us be attentive."* With a loud voice he urges all to listen attentively to the *bishop who says, "What is holy to those who are holy."*[5] He does so because this food, which is

4. See Luke 24:18. 5. See Matt 7:6.

our Lord's Body and Blood, is holy and immortal. It is all-holy since the Holy Spirit has come down upon it. Yet not all are allowed to partake of this food. Only those who have already been sanctified.

This is why only the baptized receive it, those who by a new birth given 3483
at baptism "are the first fruits of the Holy Spirit"[6] and have been found worthy to receive holiness from it. This is why the bishop says, "What is holy to those who are holy," and he directs the hearts of all to be attentive to the great offering placed on the altar. You should know that by nature you are not worthy of the nourishment you receive. This food is immortal and completely unchangeable. Not everyone is to receive; only those who have been made holy.

XXIII. [. . .] For every animal born of another animal God has provided 3484
food that is suitable and fitting. Thus each animal is brought forth and nourished by one of its own kind. A sheep is born of a sheep and is nourished by the nature of a sheep. The same is true for a horse and for all the other animals. Animals of one species are born from others of the same species and are fed by the same. At baptism you were born and made holy by the grace and coming of the Holy Spirit. And so it is fitting that you partake of food of the same kind by the grace and coming of the Holy Spirit. You do so to strengthen and increase the sanctification given you and to obtain the good things that will be ours in the world to come and by means of which all of us will be completely holy. This is how we are to understand *"What is holy for those who are holy."* And so we draw near to the greatness of this Communion, doing so with these dispositions, this faith, this zeal, this awe, and this love as we partake of this holy and immortal food. *It is with this in mind that the bishop says, "What is holy for those who are holy." All answer, "There is one holy Father, one holy Son, one Holy Spirit."* All profess that there is only one nature of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, existing from all eternity, alone being unchangeable, alone being able to give holiness to whomever God desires. *They continue, "Glory to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit* for ever and ever. Amen." Those professing the divine nature are to glorify it as required by their duty to give glory.

XXIV. Once the service has concluded, *all hasten to receive from the offering.* 3485
From the awesome and ineffable altar we receive an immortal and holy nourishment. Although those who are appointed for the divine liturgy and stand near the altar approach it to receive the divine food,[7] all others receive at a distance. This is the only difference. There is no difference in the food itself. There is only one bread, only one Body of Christ our Lord, into which the bread that was presented has been changed. It is by the coming of the Holy Spirit that the bread receives such a transformation. All receive from this bread because we are all the one Body of Christ our Lord and because we are nourished with the same Body and Blood. Just as

6. Rom 8:23. 7. See 1 Cor 9:13.

we have all become one Body of Christ through a new birth and through the Holy Spirit, so through the one food of the holy mysteries, which nourish us by the grace of the Holy Spirit, all of us enter into the one communion of Christ our Savior, "for in one Spirit we were all baptized into one Body—Jews or Greeks, slaves or free."[8] On the other hand, "Because there is one bread, we who are many are one Body, for we all partake of the one bread."[9] When, therefore, we are all nourished by the same Body of our Lord and receive communion with him whom we receive by means of this new nourishment, it is the one Body of Christ that all of us become. It is communion and union with him as with our head because "the bread that we break, is it not a sharing in the body of Christ? The cup of blessing that we bless, is it not a sharing in the blood of Christ?"[10] The apostle teaches that by receiving these we are united with our Lord's body and blood. Thus when we receive, we remain in communion with him, we ourselves being the Body of Christ; by this communion we strengthen what we have received by our new birth in baptism. As the apostle said, it is his Body which we have become: "You are the Body of Christ,"[11] and elsewhere, Christ is "the head from whom the whole body, nourished and held together by its ligaments, grows with a growth that is from God."[12]

3486 XXV. The gift of "Communion" in the mysteries is granted to each of us in a general way because all of us equally have need of it, doing so because we believe that the joy of eternal life is presented in it. *For this reason the officiating bishop is the first to approach and receive,* doing so in order to show to all that according to the rules of the priesthood the sacrifice is offered for all, and that he needs to partake of it with the others. It is in eating and drinking that our Lord established what profits us, for he said that "those who eat my flesh and drink my blood will have eternal life."[13] It is not "those who officiate" but "those who eat." All of us are to do this. The sacrifice is offered so that by the coming of the Holy Spirit it becomes what it is said to be, namely, Christ's Body and Blood. Once the bread and the wine become this, all of us partake of them because we believe that in this food and drink, of which we are to partake, there is life as our Lord said. [. . .]

3487 XXVI. [. . .] Christ comes to each of us. Yet he is completely whole in each portion that is received. He is united with each person. He gives himself to each so that we might grasp and embrace him with all our might and so that we might show our love for him as we so desire. In this way our Lord's Body and Blood nourish us and have us look ahead to our transformation into one immortal and incorruptible nature.

3488 XXVII. *Then each of us approaches, looking downward and with both hands extended.* With eyes lowered we show that fitting adoration is being given; it is, as it were, a profession of faith that we are receiving the Body of the

8. 1 Cor 12:13. 9. 1 Cor 10:17. 10. 1 Cor 10:16. 11. 1 Cor 12:27. 12. Col 2:19. 13. John 6:56.

King who became the Lord of all by being united with the divine nature and is adored as Lord by all creatures. By the fact that both hands are extended, we acknowledge the greatness of the gift that will be received. *The right hand is extended to receive the offering that is given, but the left hand is placed under it* as a sign of reverence. The right hand is on top since it will receive the royal Body whereas the left hand supports and guides its sister hand; yet it does not consider its role to be one of a servant since it is equal to the right hand in dignity because of the royal Body it also bears.

XXVIII. *The bishop, while giving Communion, says, "The Body of Christ."* By these words he teaches you not to look at what is visible but to picture in your mind what it has become by the descent of the Holy Spirit, namely, the Body of Christ. In this way you should approach, doing so with great awe and love out of respect for the greatness of the gift. Awe is appropriate because of the gift's great dignity; love is appropriate because of its grace. *This is why, after the bishop, you say, "Amen."* By responding to him you confirm and subscribe to what he has said. *The same applies to the cup.* 3489

Once you have received the Body into your own hands, you adore it—thereby recognizing the power of him who is placed in your hands. You recall the words our Lord spoke to his disciple after rising from among the dead, "All authority in heaven and on earth has been given to me."[14] With great and sincere love you press it to your eyes, kiss it, and pray to it as to Christ our Lord who is henceforth with you. [. . .] 3490

XXIX. [. . .] *After receiving Communion rightly you thank and bless God,* doing so on your own, so as not to be ungrateful for the divine gift. *And you will remain in the church so that joining the others you may give praise and thanks according to the Church's practice* because it is fitting that all who together have received this spiritual food should together praise God for this great gift. 3491

XXXI. [. . .] We should try to make ourselves as worthy as possible of the mysteries. We will be worthy of them if we obey the commandments of Christ our Lord, who beforehand promised us these and similar benefits provided we strive to avoid all evil and cling to what is good, provided we shun all that is wicked, provided we increase in mercy, which brought us such good things as these. [. . .] 3492

XXXIII. [. . .] We are to arrange our lives according to the things of the world to come. [. . .] Sins of human weakness should not restrain us from partaking in the holy mystery. However, those who continually live a sinful life should not approach without fear. [. . .] 3493

XXXIV. We should, therefore, neither stay away completely nor carelessly approach the mysteries,[15] but we must strive with all our power to lead a good life. So doing, may we hasten to Communion, knowing that if our lives are careless, if we sin without fear, if we do whatever we please, then it is unto condemnation that we eat and drink this ineffable food and 3494

14. Matt 28:18. 15. See 1 Cor 11:27.

drink. But if we show concern for how we live our lives and strive to do what is good, if we always reflect upon this in our hearts, then our involuntary sins, those resulting from human weakness, will not harm us. On the other hand, we will profit greatly from receiving the mysteries. The Body and Blood of our Lord and the grace of the Holy Spirit given by the sacrament will strengthen us in doing good and fortify our dispositions, repelling all evil thoughts and removing sins—presuming that these have been committed involuntarily or out of human weakness. [. . .]

3495 XXXV. Surely our participation in the holy mysteries will forgive sins of this kind because our Lord clearly said, "This is my Body given up for you for the forgiveness of sins," and "This is my Blood poured out for you for the forgiveness of sins,"[16] and "I have come," he says, "not to call the righteous but sinners."[17] If we sin through carelessness, it will go hard for us should we approach the holy mysteries. But if we zealously do good, avoid evil, and sincerely repent of our sins, then the holy mysteries will be the gift of the forgiveness of sins. Although we are sinners, we have been called to penance. [. . .]

3496 XXXVI. [. . .] A Seraph was sent to Isaiah. With tongs the Seraph took a burning coal from the altar and placed it on Isaiah's lips, saying, "This has touched your lips; your iniquity is no more; your sins are forgiven."[18] And so there were burning coals upon the altar, this being a figure of the mystery that was to be given us. A piece of coal is first of all dark and cold, but when it has been brought to the fire, it becomes luminous and hot. The food of the holy mystery should be like this. What is brought forward is regular bread and wine, which as such are transformed into the power of spiritual and immortal food. This is why Isaiah saw a sign and a revelation of what was to take place in the burning coals. The Holy Spirit also, in the form of fire, came down from heaven upon the apostles and through them the grace of the Holy Spirit entered the whole human race. Just as the Seraph drew near to the prophet, purifying and removing all his sins, so we also should believe that by participating in the holy mysteries our sins are completely removed provided we repent, provided that in our hearts we grieve and are sorry for our sins.

3497 XXXVIII. The Seraph did not hold the burning coal in its hand; the coal was held with tongs. This vision shows that the faithful should also fear approaching the mysteries without an intermediary. And so the bishop with his hand gives you the mysteries, saying, "The Body of Christ." He does not believe that he himself is worthy to hold and present such gifts; replacing the tongs is the spiritual grace he has received as a priest. [. . .]

3498 XXXIX. [. . .] If we are guilty of a great sin against the Law—the type of sin being unimportant—we must refrain from Communion and yet not stay away indefinitely. What good does it do to continue on in the same sins? We must make every effort to move our conscience so that we are

16. See Matt 26:26–28; 1 Cor 11:24–26. 17. Matt 9:13. 18. Isa 6:7, LXX.

eager to do penance for sins. We are not to leave to ourselves the treatment of these sins. Just as God gave our bodies, which can suffer, remedies to be used by experts in treating them, so God gave our souls, created and changeable, penance as a remedy for sin; decisions concerning penance have been given from the beginning. The priests and experts who treat and care for sinners are to follow the Church's discipline and wisdom in healing penitents, this being regulated according to the seriousness of a person's sins.

XL. For this reason our Lord said, "If another member of the Church sins 3499
against you, go and point out the fault when the two of you are alone. If the member listens to you, you have regained that one. But if you are not listened to, take one or two others along with you, so that every word may be confirmed by the evidence of two or three witnesses. If the member refuses to listen to them, tell it to the Church; and if the offender refuses to listen even to the Church, let such a one be to you as a gentile and a tax collector."[19]

God established this treatment for sins and confided it to the priests of 3500
the Church so that they, diligently using it, may cure the sins of the people.

XLIV. You know that God in his great care for us gives us penance, 3501
points out for us the remedy of contrition, and has made priests, as it were, physicians for sins so that by them sins are treated and forgiven here on earth. In this way we are delivered from future punishment. And so with great confidence we are to go to the priests and reveal our sins to them. With all care, compassion, and love they will heal sinners according to the rules already given. [. . .]

139. THEODORET OF CYR

Theodoret (ca. 385–ca. 460), a native of Antioch, became a monk at Nicerte ca. 416. Against his will he was ordained bishop of Cyr (Cyrrhus, Cyrus), a small town east of Antioch. He directed his flock well and yet found time to write, especially against the Jews, the pagans, as well as against various heresies.

It was especially in the field of Christology that he excelled, opposing Cyril of Alexandria (WEC 3:148) in the latter's opposition to Nestorius. Because of his defense of Nestorius, Theodoret was forced into exile in 449, only to be recalled by the emperor Marcian in 450. He attended the Council of Chalcedon (WEC 3:137) in 451. Nestorian tendencies resulted in his writing being condemned by the fifth General Council, namely, Constantinople II in 553.

Theodoret has been called "one of the most fertile authors of the Greek Church" (Altaner [1961] 397). Unfortunately only a small number of his writings survive.

19. Matt 18:15–18.

CPG 3: nos. 6200ff. * Altaner (1961) 396–99 * Altaner (1966) 339–41 * Bardenhewer (1908) 370–76 * Bardenhewer (1910) 326–31 * Bardenhewer (1913) 4:219–47 * Bardy (1929) 171–76 * Bautz 11:936–57 * Hamell 121–23 * Jurgens 3:238–49 * Quasten 3:536–54 * Steidle 132–35 * Tixeront 205–8 * CATH 14:995–96 * CE 14:574–75 * CHECL 349–51 * DCB 4:904–19 * DictSp 15:418–35 * DPAC 2:3371–74 * DTC 15.1:299–325 * EC 11:1926–27 * EEC 2:827–28 * EEChr 2:1117–18 * LTK 9:1401–94 * NCE 14:20–22 * NCES 13:878–79 * ODCC 1600–1601 * PEA (1894) 5.2 (n.s.) 1791–1801

J. Quasten, "The Conflict of Early Christianity with the Jewish Temple Worship," TS 2 (1941) 481–87. * H. Chadwick, "Eucharist and Christology in the Nestorian Controversy," JThSt, n.s., 2 (1951) 145–64. * J. Sauter, "L'événement de la Pentecôte dans l'exégèse de Théodoret, évêque," QLP 34 (1953) 103–7. * W.M. Green, "Ancient Comment on Instrumental Music in the Psalms," ResQ 1 (1957) 3–8. * O. Rousseau, "La mémoire de Pierre et Paul dans la liturgie," VS 117 (1967) 265–74. * Y.-M. Congar, "Doctrines et théologie de l'eucharistie," RSPT 66 (1982) 233–44. * D. Krueger, "Writing as Devotion: Hagiographical Composition and the Cult of the Saints in Theodoret of Cyrrhus," CH 66 (1997) 707–19.

139-A. On the Interpretation of the Psalms†

In this treatise Theodoret, often considered the leading exegete of the Antiochene School, comments on the whole Psalter, avoiding extreme allegorical interpretations and explaining messianic prophecies as referring to past events. According to some the work was written between 441 and 449.

3502 On Psalm 109:4.[a] [. . .] Christ our Lord offered himself to God not only for the Jews but for all people. The priesthood had its origins during that night when he was approaching his cross, the night when "he took bread, gave thanks, broke it, and said, 'Take and eat from this for this is my Body.' In like manner when he mixed the cup, he gave it to his disciples, saying, 'Drink from this, all of you, for this is my blood of the New Testament which is poured out for many for the forgiveness of sins.'"[1] We find that Melchisedech was both priest and king (he being a figure of the true priest and king), and that he offered to God not victims unable to reason but rather bread and wine. [. . .] Now it is Christ who is the priest, born in the flesh from Judah, not himself offering anything but appearing as the head of those who do offer. For he calls the Church his head and through it as man he serves as priest; as God he receives what is offered. The Church offers the symbols [σύμβολα] of his Body and Blood, sanctifying the whole by means of its first fruits.

† Translated from PG 80:1771–74.

a. Enumeration according to the LXX.

1. Matt 26:26–28.

139-B. On the Interpretation of the Song of Songs†

Written early on in his career as a writer and at the request of John of Germanicia,[a] this work greatly relies on Origen's (WEC 1:43) understanding of the Church as the bride and of Christ as the spouse.

1.1. Vers. 1. [. . .] Should any be embarrassed and troubled by the word "kiss," let them consider that at the time when the sacrament is being celebrated, we receive the members of the Spouse, we embrace and kiss them. [. . .] 3503

1.1. Vers. 2. If you desire to understand this verse in a more mystical way, recall the sacred baptismal mystery in which those being initiated, after renouncing the tyrant and confessing the King, receive as a kind of royal imprint the anointing with the spiritual and fragrant oil, this being, as it were, a sign of the invisible grace of the most Holy Spirit. [. . .] 3504

139-C. Interpretation of the Fourteen Letters of Saint Paul††

This is Theodoret's only work on the New Testament.

On Hebrews 8. 4. It is clear to those who are learned in divine things that we offer no other sacrifice [than that which Christ offered]. We celebrate its sole and sanctifying memory as the Lord commanded, "Do this in memory of me." [. . .] 3505

139-D. Religious History†††

Written ca. 444, the thirty chapters of the *Historia Religiosa seu Ascetica Vivendi Ratio* or the *History of the Monks* give a short biography of twenty-eight male and three female ascetics, most of whom Theodoret knew personally.

xxx.1. The admirable Domnina, having resolved to imitate the life of Maron[a] [. . .], built for herself a small grass hut in her mother's garden. It is there that she lives, continually moistening with tears not only her cheeks but even her horsehair garments, her body being covered with clothing of this kind. At cockcrow she hastens to the divine temple, which is not far from there, in order to join everyone, women and men, in praising the master of the universe. She does this not only at the beginning but 3506

† Translated from PG 81:53–54.

a. John: a partisan on the Nestorian side, who attended the Council of Ephesus (431) with Theodoret.

†† Translated from PG 82:735–36.

††† Translated from *Histoire de moines de Syrie* . . ., vol. 2, ed. P. Canivet and A. Leroy-Molinghen, SChr 257 (Paris, 1979) 241–42.

a. Maron: a well-known anchorite who died before 423; he is considered the father of the spiritual movement now called the Maronite Church.

also at the end of the day, believing and teaching others that a place consecrated to God is more important than any other place. [. . .]

139-E. Church History†

Theodoret's *Church History* (*Historia Ecclesiastica*), written in five books, was completed in 449/450. It begins where Eusebius (WEC 2:81) ended and concludes with the year 428. Theodoret's work contains many documents not found elsewhere.

I.IX. Letter of Constantine the Emperor. To those bishops who were absent from the synod.[a] Concerning what was decided there.

3507 "An inquiry was made there concerning the most holy day of the Pasch. It was decided that all people shall celebrate it at one and the same time. Is anything more proper, more important, than that this feast, the origin of our hope for immortality, be observed uniformly and clearly among all without failure and error? It was first deemed unworthy to observe this holy solemnity as do the Jews whose hands are stained with crime and whose minds are rightly blinded. It is fitting that in rejecting their customs we pass on to succeeding generations what is more reasonable concerning the day of the Passion. And so let us have nothing in common with the most hated Jewish people. May we learn a different way from our Savior. Our religion offers a better and more legitimate way. My most honorable brothers and sisters, may we persevere as one and stay far away from evil conscience. They claim that we—without their teaching—are incapable of observing the feast properly. This is indeed absurd. How can they think correctly about anything? After the Lord's death and being mentally impaired, they are not guided by reason, but their unrestrained impulses are carried wherever their unbridled madness brings them. So it is that they do not see the truth here, always wandering as far as they can from fitting correction so that they celebrate a second Passover in the same year. Why should we follow those who indeed are in great error? By no means could we bear celebrating a second Pasch in the same year. Even if all this were not enough, your own wisdom should move you to struggle and pray constantly so that your pure minds not appear to follow the customs of such bad people. Remember that in so great a matter, namely, in observing such a great feast, there is to be no disagreement. Our Savior has handed down to us one day on which to remember our deliverance, namely, the day of his most holy suffering. He desired that his Catholic Church be one even though its members are many and found in various places throughout the world. They are to be nourished by one spirit, namely, by the divine will. May your holy wisdom consider how evil and improper it is that the days when some are fasting are spent by others in feasting;

† Translated from PG 82:931ff.

a. Namely, the First Council of Nicaea in 325 (WEC 2:71-C).

and that after the paschal fast there are some who devote themselves to feasting and relaxation whereas others keep the obligatory fasts. This incongruity is to be corrected, and all these various ways of commemoration are to assume one form, this being God's will as surely all of you understand. Such an incongruity is to be remedied so that we may not have anything in common with those murderers who killed our Lord. All the churches in the West, in the South, in the northern regions of the world, and even some in the East observe the appropriate and suitable form of commemorating. And so I believe that all of you are willing to adopt this and will follow the rule observed in the city of Rome, throughout Italy, in all Africa, in Egypt, the Spains, the Gauls, the Britains, Libya, Greece, the dioceses of Asia, of Pontus,[b] in Cilicia.[c] You should remember that the churches in all these places are not only greater in number but also that it is most godly for all to follow what reason demands so as to have nothing in common with the perjury of the Jews.

"And so to briefly state what was said above, all believed that the most 3508
holy paschal feast is to be celebrated on one and the same day. In such a holy matter customs should not differ. It is better to follow the opinion that has no contamination by reason of sin or falsehood. This being true, freely receive the heavenly gift and the truly divine command. For whatever is decided in the councils of bishops is to be completely ascribed to God's will.

"Therefore once you have announced to all our brothers what has been 3509
written above, then you ought to allow and establish the observance of this most holy day so that when, as I have long desired, I see you in person, I will be able to observe the sacred feast with you on one and the same day." [. . .]

I.XIV. Letter of the great and victorious Constantine to Eusebius.

"My dear brother [Eusebius],[d] I know for certain and am totally con- 3510
vinced that since the servants of Christ our Savior have till now been suffering from deplorable ploys and tyranny, church buildings have either been left to ruin through neglect, or due to fear of impending harm were not constructed as they should have been. Now that freedom has been regained and the dragon, through God's providence and our ministry, has been expelled from the administration of the government, I believe that God's power is sufficiently seen by all. I also believe that those who by fear or by unfaithfulness or by certain sins were implicated will now, upon knowing him who truly is, be brought to a way of life that is true and proper. And so either take charge of these churches or urge bishops,

b. Pontus: Roman province in northeast Asia Minor.

c. Cilicia: a region in southeast Asia Minor.

d. Eusebius of Caesarea (ca. 260–ca. 340): bishop of Caesarea and church historian (WEC 2:81).

presbyters, or deacons elsewhere to give attention to them so that existing buildings be restored or enlarged and that new ones, if needed, be constructed. As to what will be necessary, you and others through you can make a request to the provincial governors and to the office of the prefecture. [. . .] I have written them urging that they zealously carry out what your Holiness tells them. May God, my dearest brother, safeguard you." [. . .]

I.XVI. Letter of Constantine to Macarius,[e] Bishop of Jerusalem. Concerning the building of God's church.

3511 [. . .] "Since I firmly believe that my intent is well-known to all, I wish to assure you that my primary care is to adorn with beautiful buildings that sacred place which by God's command I freed from the wicked addition of an idol as if from some heavy burden. Such a place, already in times past declared holy by God, is now made more holy from the time when the memorial of the Lord's saving passion was brought to light. And so let us adorn this place with a beautiful building. For this reason it is fitting that your Holiness establish and provide all that is necessary so that such a basilica may not only surpass all others, but that it also be the most beautiful in the whole world. As to erecting and decorating the walls, we have designated our friend Dracillianus, the most distinguished prefect of the province, to oversee this task. We have ordered him to send artisans, workers, and whatever building materials you need.

3512 "As to the columns and the marbles, inform us by letter after you have finished your inspection as to what you consider to be more useful and suitable so that what is required may be brought to one location. A place that is to be the most respected in the world is to be adorned as its dignity requires. I wish to know from you whether you think that the basilica's ceiling should be panelled or done in another way. If the ceiling is panelled, it can also be decorated with gold. Therefore it remains for your Holiness to make known as soon as possible to the above-mentioned judges how many workers and artisans and how much money are required. Inform me not only as to the marbles and the columns but also regarding the panelled ceiling." [. . .]

I.XXIX. Concerning the consecration of the church in Jerusalem. [. . .]

3513 The emperor commanded all the bishops attending the Council of Tyre[f] as well as all other bishops to proceed to Aelia[g] and consecrate the church he had constructed there. He sent some officials, upright persons

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e. Macarius: bishop of Jerusalem 314–33 and a strong opponent of Arianism. Constantine's letter was written in 326.

f. The Council of Tyre, at which Athanasius (WEC 2:90) was condemned, took place in 335.

g. In 135 Hadrian changed the name of Jerusalem to *Colonia Aelia Capitolina*.

known for their godliness and faith, to provide adequate provisions to all, not only to the bishops and their attendants but to all who came from far and wide to Jerusalem. The holy altar was adorned with royal hangings, and the golden vessels were gleaming with all types of precious stones. Once this wonderful celebration ended, each bishop returned to his own diocese. Hearing about the splendor and magnificence of the affair, the emperor was highly pleased and gave thanks to the Giver of all good things. [. . .]

II.XIX. Concerning the cunning of Leontius, Bishop of Antioch, and the trustworthiness and independence of Flavianus and Diodorus.

[. . .] When Leontius[h] saw that the clergy and the rest of the people 3514
were divided into two parts—some people giving glory to the Son by employing the conjunction "and," others using the preposition "through" the Son, reserving "in" to the Holy Spirit—he said the whole prayer of glory silently so that those standing close by could only hear the phrase "Forever and ever." [. . .]

Flavianus and Diodorus,[i] that admirable pair, although not yet hav- 3515
ing obtained the priestly office and still counted among the laity, day and night roused all to strive after godliness. Being the first to divide the choir into two sections, they taught them to sing the psalms in alternation. Originating at Antioch, this practice spread everywhere, even to all corners of the world. Gathering those devoted to divine things in the church of the martyrs, they spent the night with them praising God.

IV.VI. Concerning the election of Ambrose, Bishop of Milan.

The synod begged the emperor Valentinian,[j] a wise and godly man, to 3516
choose the bishop. But he said, "To do something like this is beyond my ability. You are blessed with divine grace. You have been enlightened. Thus you are better able to decide." And so the bishops with him left in order to deliberate. But the citizens and inhabitants of the city were in turmoil since no agreement could be reached. Some proposed one man whereas others advanced another. Those affected by the disease of Auxentius[k] proposed candidates who agreed with them. The orthodox wanted to have as their leader someone sharing their beliefs. Advised of this disagreement, Ambrose,[l] at that time magistrate of the people, was afraid that the situation was becoming dangerous. So he quickly hastened to the church. The disturbance then ceased, and all the people unanimously

h. Leontius: a pro-Arian bishop and an enemy of Athanasius; ordained bishop in 344.

i. Flavianus: soon to be bishop of Antioch 381–404. Diodorus: ordained bishop of Tarsus in 378.

j. Valentinian: Roman emperor in the West 364–75.

k. Auxentius: Arian bishop of Milan 355–74.

l. WEC 2:53.

demanded that Ambrose become their pastor even though he had not yet been initiated into the sacred mysteries.

3517 When the emperor became aware of this, he immediately ordered that this most praiseworthy man be baptized and ordained, for he knew that Ambrose's judgment was as straight as a carpenter's rule and that his thinking was more exact than a carpenter's square. Valentinian believed that the approval was divine, a conjecture based on the fact that people of various opinions were able to reach an agreement. After Ambrose had received the gift of holy baptism and the grace of the episcopacy, the most illustrious emperor, being present for all this, is said to have offered these words of praise to the Lord and Savior: "Almighty Lord and Savior, we give you thanks. I have entrusted human bodies to this man; you have entrusted him with their souls. You have declared my choice to be correct."[m] [. . .]

IV.XXVI. Concerning [. . .] Ephrem the Syrian.

3518 At that time in Edessa there flourished the admirable Ephrem[n] [. . .] who wrote against false teachings. Using the Syrian language, he extended the rays of spiritual grace. Although untouched by the teachings of the pagans, he exposed many of their errors and laid open the deceitful weakness of all the heresies. Harmonios, the son of Bardesanes,[o] once composed some hymns, enticing those listening by mixing sweet sounds with ungodliness. In this way he led them to destruction. Ephrem, borrowing the music of these songs, gave them religious words, thereby providing those listening with both great pleasure and useful medicine. These songs now make joyful the feasts of the victorious martyrs.[p]

V.XVII. The massacre at Thessalonica; the boldness of Bishop Ambrose; the godliness of the emperor.

3519 Thessalonica, a large and populous city, is part of Macedonia.[q] It is also the capital of Thesaly and Achaia as well as of other provinces ruled by the prefect of Illyrium. A rebellion broke out in this city with several magistrates being roughly treated and stoned.

3520 Hearing this, the emperor[r] was enraged. Swords of injustice were unsheathed left and right. No one was spared, innocent and guilty alike being slaughtered. There were no preliminary trials. [. . .] It is said that seven thousand were killed.

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m. Also related in Sozomen, *Church History* VI.XXIV (WEC 3:3897), and in Socrates, *Church History* IV.XXX (WEC 3:3224).

n. Ephraem the Syrian (ca. 306–73): Syrian exegete and hymn writer (WEC 2:76).

o. Bardesanes (154–222): Syrian hymn writer, generally considered a heretic.

p. Also related in Socrates, *Church History* IV.XXX. (WEC 3:3224), and Sozomen, *Church History* VI.XXIV (WEC 3:3897).

q. Macedonia: region on the Balkan Peninsula in northeastern Greece.

r. Namely, Theodosius I: Roman emperor 379–95.

News of this deplorable calamity reached Ambrose in Milan where the 3521
emperor, as customary, wished to enter the church. Ambrose, going to the building's porch, forbade him entrance, saying, "O Emperor, you appear to be unaware of the magnitude of what you have done. Your anger has subsided; yet your reason refuses to acknowledge that you have committed a terrible deed. [. . .] And so with what eyes will you look upon the church of our common Lord? With what feet will you walk upon its holy floor? How will you extend your hands still dripping with the blood of an unjust slaughter? With such hands will you receive the most holy Body of the Lord? How will you raise up the most precious Blood to your mouth, for in your abominable anger you have shed so much blood? Depart, therefore, and first of all take care not to add one sin to another. Acknowledge the bond by which the God and Lord of all recommends that you be held. God will be your physician. God will restore your health."

The emperor, moved by these words—for he was educated in divine 3522
sayings—well knew which things belonged to the priests and which to the emperor, and so he returned to his palace with sighs and tears. After a long time, eight months having passed, the feast of our Savior's birth had arrived. The emperor, residing in his palace, was shedding a great number of tears.

At that time Rufinus[s] was in charge of the imperial household. Close to 3523
the emperor and enjoying the greatest liberty, he went to the emperor and questioned him as to the reason for his tears. The emperor, groaning and crying even more, said, "Rufinus, you are jesting. You do not realize what is afflicting me. I indeed am grieving and sorrowful as I consider my misfortune. Admitted into God's church are servants and beggars; they can enter without worry and petition their Lord. But for me, I am not to enter there; heaven is closed for me. I remember the words of our Lord, "Whatever you bind on earth will be bound in heaven."[1]

Rufinus replied, "If it pleases you, let me go to the bishop and entreat 3524
him to release you from your penalties." The emperor replied, "He will not change. I know that the sentence imposed by Ambrose is just; nor will he out of respect for imperial power break God's law."

Rufinus continued to make his case, promising to win over Ambrose. 3525
Theodosius finally had him go with all speed, and shortly afterward the emperor himself followed, being assured by the promises of Rufinus.

As soon as the holy Ambrose saw Rufinus, he said, "Rufinus, your 3526
shamelessness rivals that of a dog. You advised such a slaughter; you wiped away shame from your brow. You neither blush nor are terrified after such madness committed against God's image." Rufinus, for his part, had recourse to prayer and announced that the emperor was approaching.

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s. Rufinus Flavius, head of the court, went on to assume various government positions; he was murdered at Constantinople in 395.

1. Matt 18:18.

Ambrose, fired with zeal, said, "Rufinus, I tell you beforehand that I will not allow him to cross the sacred threshold. But if royal power changes into tyranny, gladly will I submit to death." Hearing this, Rufinus sent a messenger to inform the emperor of the bishop's thinking and persuaded him to remain within the palace. The emperor was in the middle of the forum when he learned this. "I will go," he said, "and accept the punishment I deserve."

3527 When he reached the sacred enclosure, he did not enter the church. Rather, going to the bishop seated in the house of salvation, the emperor pleaded that his penalty be removed. "Your coming," said Ambrose, "is that of a tyrant. You are raging against God, treading on God's laws." Replied the emperor, "I do not break the laws laid down for me, nor do I desire to wrongfully enter the sacred courts. I do ask you to relax my penalties and to remember the mercy of our Lord. Do not close the door which the Lord has opened to all who do penance." The bishop answered, "What penance have you done after such an evil deed? What medicine will you use to heal such terrible wounds?" The emperor replied, "It is for you to point out and regulate the medicine; it is for me to receive what is to be applied."

3528 Then Ambrose said, "Because you allowed your anger and not reason to rule your judgment, write an edict that will render null and void whatever decisions come from such anger. Suspended for thirty days are to be those sentences prescribing death or confiscation—the judgment of reason being awaited. Once these thirty days have passed, those issuing the sentence are to show their orders and then and only then, anger having subsided, reason itself is to judge what has been decreed and discern what is just or unjust. If something is found to be unjust, then what has been written is to be voided. But if just, then reason will confirm this, and the number of days will by no means inflict harm on those who have been rightly judged."

3529 The emperor, welcoming this advice and believing it to be the best, ordered that such an edict be immediately issued. He confirmed it with his own hand. Once this was done, Ambrose lifted the penalty.

3530 And so at last the most faithful emperor dared enter the church. Praying to God, he neither stood nor knelt but lay prostrate as he spoke the words of David, "My soul clings to the dust; revive me according to your word."[2] Plucking his beard, striking his brow, and weeping profusely, he requested pardon.

3531 When the time came for him to bring his offering to the altar, he went up to the sanctuary as he did so. But once he presented his gifts, he remained within the railing as was his custom. Ambrose again did not remain silent but taught him how to differentiate one place from another.

2. Ps 118:25.

First, Ambrose asked the emperor if he desired anything. When the emperor answered that he was waiting to share in the divine mysteries, the following is what Ambrose indicated by means of the first deacon: "O Emperor, access to the inner places is restricted to priests alone. It is forbidden to all others. Therefore leave and stand with the rest, for purple makes emperors, not priests." The emperor received this admonition patiently; he had it said that he remained within the railings not due to spiritual arrogance but because he learned that this was the custom at Constantinople. "I should give thanks," he said, "for being cured of this." [. . .]

Upon returning to Constantinople, the emperor continued to observe 3532
the rule of godliness that he had received from the archbishop. When on a feastday he again entered God's church and after presenting his gifts at the holy altar, he immediately departed the sanctuary. And when the bishop of the church—namely Nestorius—asked why he did not remain within, Theodosius, sighing, replied, "With difficulty I learned the difference between an emperor and a priest."[t] [. . .]

V.xxxv. Concerning Alexander, Bishop of Antioch.

[. . .] Alexander[u] was a holy man, one who practiced poverty, a man 3533
eloquent in speech and endowed with any number of spiritual gifts. Through persuasion and exhortation he was able to unite the followers of the great Eustathius[v] to the rest of the body, something not allowed to happen by Paulinus[w] and after him Evagrius.[x] And so a feast was celebrated. Nothing like it had ever been seen. The bishop gathered all the faithful, clergy and laity alike, and had them assemble. Cantors being present and with a hymn sung in harmony, all processed from the little door facing the west into the great church. [. . .]

139-F. Eranistes or Polymorph[†]

The first four books of *Eranistes or Polymorph*, written ca. 447 and revised ca. 451 after the Council of Chalcedon (WEC 3:137), are a dialogue on the Christian religion between Eranistes and a true believer. Book five presents forty syllogisms summarizing this dialogue.

Eranistes (meaning the beggar) is a Monophysite and is also known as Polymorph (a person of many faces or shapes) since Monophysitism is nothing more, says Cyr, than a collection of various ancient errors or heresies.

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t. Also related in Sozomen, *Church History* III.xvi (WEC 3:3893).

u. Alexander: bishop of Antioch 413–21.

v. Eustathius: anti-Arian bishop of Antioch ca. 324–ca. 327.

w. Paulinus: head of a small separatist community in Antioch, a see whose leadership was pro-Arian.

x. Evagrius (ca. 320–ca. 394): the successor of Paulinus.

[†] Translation (adapted) from Jurgens 3:243–44.

Dialogue Two

3534 *Beggar:* You have opportunely introduced a word about the divine sacraments, for directly I will prove to you that the body of the Master is changed into another nature. Please answer my questions.
True Believer: I will do so.
Beggar: What do you call the gift that is offered prior to the invocation of the priest?
True Believer: It is not proper to divulge this, for it is probable that some are present who have not been initiated.
Beggar: You can answer enigmatically.
True Believer: Food from certain seeds.
Beggar: And what do we call the other symbol?
True Believer: It is a common name, signifying a type of beverage.
Beggar: And what do you call them after the consecration?
True Believer: Christ's Body and Blood.
Beggar: And do you believe that you receive Christ's Body and his Blood?
True Believer: This is what I believe.
3535 *Beggar:* Well then, just as the symbols of the Master's Body and Blood are one thing before the priestly invocation, and after the invocation are changed and become something else, so too after the assumption [of flesh] the body of the Master is changed into the divine essence.
3536 *True Believer:* [. . .] After the consecration the mystical symbols do not lose their own nature, for they remain with their former essence and outward appearance and shape, and they are visible and tangible just as they were before. They are understood, however, to be what they have become, and by faith they are believed, and they are adored as what they are believed to be.

139-G. History of Heresies[†]

The *History of Heresies* (*Hereticarum Fabularum Compendium*), written ca. 453 and relying on a wide variety of sources, contains five books, the first four treating a wide variety of heretical sects and movements, the fifth presenting a summary of Christian doctrine.

I.xx. Concerning [. . .] the Hydroparastatae or the Encratites
3537 [. . .] The Hydroparastatae[a] offer water rather than wine. The Encratites[b] do not drink wine nor do they eat meat.

[†] Translated from PG 83:369–70, 387–90, 425–26.

a. Hydroparastatae: a name, popular from the fourth century, given to the Aquarians, namely to those substituting water for wine at the Eucharist.

b. Encratites: a general term applied to any number of early Christian groups whose practices included refraining from meat and wine.

II.1. Concerning the Ebionites

[. . .] [The Ebionites[c]] live a life according to the Law of Moses. They 3538
accept only the Gospel according to the Hebrews, calling Paul an apostate. One of their members was Symmachus, who translated the Old Testament from Hebrew into Greek. There was another group also known as Ebionites. In some things they agreed with the others, saying that our Lord and Savior was born of a virgin, using only the Gospel according to Matthew, and observing the Sabbath according to Jewish law. They sanctify Sunday as we do.

IV.VII. Concerning the Melitians

[. . .] [The Melitians[d]] contrived such foolish practices as washing the 3539
body with water every other day while clapping their hands and doing some sort of dance while singing hymns and shaking little bells attached to wood. [. . .]

139-H. Letter 146. To the Monks of Constantinople[†]

Although many of Theodoret's letters have been lost, we do have 209 of these epistles in Greek and 27 in Latin. They are a valuable source of information as to the Church's life in the fifth century.

[. . .] As to those who each year come forward to be baptized, we have 3540
them learn the faith set forth at Nicaea by the holy and blessed fathers. Initiating them to the mysteries as we have been commanded to do, we baptize them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, pronouncing each name separately. In like manner when we celebrate the holy offices in the churches, both at day's beginning and at day's end as well as during the day itself, observing this threefold distinction we glorify the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. [. . .]

140. BALAI

Little is known of the life of this fifth-century Syrian poet other than his probably being chorbishop of Beroea (Aleppo, modern Haleb). Although most of his work has been lost, several of his compositions have been incorporated into the Maronite and Jacobite liturgies. He died ca. 460.

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c. Ebionites: a sect of Jewish Christians who viewed Jesus as being only the human son of Joseph and Mary, who used only one Gospel (not one of our canonical texts), and who emphasized the binding character of the Mosaic Law.

d. Melitians: a schismatic group whose members were followers of Melitius, bishop of Lycopolis in Egypt, and who after the persecution of 303–12 espoused a rigorist position in regard to the reconciliation of those who under duress compromised the faith.

† Translated from *Correspondance. Théodoret de Cyr*, vol. 1, ed. Y. Azéma, SChr 111 (Paris, 1955) 178–79.

Altaner (1961) 405 * Altaner (1966) 347 * Bardenhewer (1908) 394–95 * Bardenhewer (1910) 341 * Bardenhewer (1913) 4:399–402 * Bautz 1:350 * Steidle 139 * Tixeront 221 * CATH 1:1184 * DHGE 6:304 * DPAC 1:468 * EC 2:720 * EEC 1:107 * PEA (1991) 2:416

140-A. Hymn for the Dedication of a New Church†

3541 His altar is ready, and he takes his meal with us;
his glory is offered to men, and they take their place at table;
we eat with him at our table
one day he will eat with us at his.
Let his glory and his majesty be adored!
Here he gives us his Body; there he will give us his reward.
On earth stands the altar which bears his Body,
and in the heavenly kingdom he will grant us eternal life and glory.
The disciples received the bread he had blessed:
he named it his Body, and the wine his Blood.
"In fellowship with you I have enjoyed the sacrament;
you will in turn enjoy it with me in the heavenly kingdom."

141. NARSAI OF NISIBIS

Narsai (Narese), probably born in 399, is often considered the outstanding theologian of the Assyrian Church. Perhaps as early as 437 he assumed leadership of the theological school at Edessa (today Urfa in Turkey), a position from which he was expelled in 457 due to his adherence to the teachings of Nestorius. Narsai and his followers settled in Nisibis (today Nusaybin in Turkey), where he founded a catechetical school most noted for being a center from which what is called Nestorianism (the teaching that there are two persons in Christ, one human and the other divine) spread throughout the East. He died ca. 503.

A prolific author, Narsai wrote Old Testament commentaries, homilies, hymns (he was called the "Harp of the Spirit"), spiritual treatises and instructions. Unfortunately much of his literary output has perished.

Altaner (1961) 407 * Altaner (1966) 348–49 * Bardenhewer (1913) 4:407–12 * Steidle 139–40 * Tixeront 320 * CATH 9:1042 * DACL 12:884–88 * DictSp 11:39–41 * DPAC 2:2342–43 * DTC 11.1:26–30 * EC 8:1657–58 * EEC 2:583 * EEChr 2:797–98 * LTK 7:644–45 * ODCC 1130–31 * PEA (1991) 8:716

A. Guillaumont, "Poème de Narsaï sur le baptême," OrSyr 1 (1956) 189–207. * I.-H. Dalmais, "L'apport des églises syriennes à l'hymnographie chrétienne," OrSyr 2 (1957) 243–60. * P. Krüger, "Traduction et commentaire de l'homélie de Narsaï sur les martyrs: contribution à l'étude du culte des martyrs dans le nestorianisme," OrSyr 3 (1958) 299–316. * E.C. Ratcliff, "A Note on the Anaphora Described in the

† Translation from G. Wainwright, *Eucharist and Eschatology* (London, 1971) 47.

Liturgical Homilies of Narsai," in *Biblical and Patristic Studies in Memory of R. Casey* (Freiburg, 1963) 235–49. * P. Brouwers, "Premier poème de Narsai sur le baptême," *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 41 (1965) 177–207. * L.L. Mitchell, "Four Fathers on Baptism: Saint John Chrysostom, Saint Ephraem, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Narsai," in *Studies in the Syrian Baptismal Rite*, ed. J. Vellian, The Syrian Churches Series 6 (Kottayam, India, 1973) 37–56, repr. under the title "Four Syrian Fathers on Baptism," in L.L. Mitchell, *Worship: Initiation and the Churches* (Washington, D.C., 1991) 49–73. * B.D. Spinks, "A Note on the Anaphora Outlined in Narsai's Homily XXXII," JThSt, n.s., 31 (1980) 82–93.

141-A. Homilies

Over eighty homilies of Narsai have come down to us, some still awaiting publication.

141-A-1. HOMILY 17. AN EXPOSITION OF THE MYSTERIES[†]

[. . .] In a mystical manner the Church depicts the glorious mysteries; 3542
as if by an image it shows to all what has happened. What came to pass in the death of the Son it commemorates by the mysteries. Also, his resurrection from the dead it reveals to all. [. . .]

The Church carries out its mysteries in secret, apart from those who 3543
are without; the priest celebrates privately within the sanctuary. Only the Church's children, the baptized and the signed, are allowed to enjoy Communion in the venerable mysteries it performs.

And so it is through the deacon that the Church cries out before the 3544
hearers, having them bow to receive a blessing from the priest: "Bow your heads, O hearers, believers, the baptized, and receive a blessing from the laying on of the hands of the bright [-robed] priest."

And when they have been blessed, another proclamation is made: "Let 3545
all who have not been baptized depart; go forth, all the unbaptized, you shall not share in the mysteries of the Church; only members of the household are allowed to do so."

A further proclamation then occurs: "Let all who have not received the 3546
sign of life depart; all who have repented and returned from heresy shall not partake of the mysteries of the Church till they have been signed [with chrism]. Furthermore, all who have denied the faith and returned to their [former] condition shall not partake till absolved by the sign of the Church."

Another proclamation: "Let all who will not receive the Body and Blood 3547
depart; all who have been prescribed by the priest are forbidden to receive, and they are not to remain when [the mysteries] are offered. Also those whom the canon has forbidden to receive the Sacrament; they are

[†] Translation (altered) from *The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai: Translated into English with an Introduction*, ed. R.H. Connolly, Texts and Studies 8 (Cambridge, 1916) 2–30.

not even permitted to stand in the place where the mysteries are being offered. The sick and the ailing who are unable to receive may not even stand in the place where the mysteries are being consecrated.

3548 Sadly all of these depart the nave; they show sorrow, standing with great mourning in the [outer] court of the church, congratulating those who remain to gladly share in the mysteries, and lamenting over their own exclusion. [. . .]

3549 The proclamation concerning the hearers follows. They should go and attend to the doors of the church, keeping watch by them: "Go, hearers, see diligently to the outer doors where no member of any alien religion may enter." They stand next to the doors as if they were hirelings, like those not partaking in the mysteries of the Church, like those who are not members of the household.

3550 At such a time may we shun anger and hatred; may we see Jesus who is being led to death for our sake. On the paten and in the cup Jesus goes forth with the deacon [deacons?] to suffer. The bread on the paten and the wine in the cup are a symbol of his death, a symbol they bear in their hands; when they have set these on the altar and covered them, they symbolize his burial. [. . .]

3551 The priests now process into the sanctuary, standing there in great splendor and wearing beauteous adornment. The priest chosen to celebrate this sacrifice bears in himself the image of our Lord at this time. Our Lord was a mediator between us and his Father; in like fashion the priest is a mediator. [. . .] All the priests in the sanctuary bear the image of the apostles who gathered at the tomb. Undoubtedly the altar is the symbol of the Lord's tomb; the bread and wine are the body of the Lord which was embalmed and buried. The veil covering them is a type of the stone sealed by the ring of the priests and the executioners. And the deacons, standing on both sides and brandishing [fans], symbolize the angels at the head and feet [of the tomb]. All the deacons who minister before the altar are like the angels who surrounded our Lord's tomb. The sanctuary is a symbol of the Garden of Joseph from which life flowed for all the people and angels. On another level it is a type of that kingdom entered by our Lord and into which he will collect all his friends. Its venerable altar is a symbol of the throne of the Great and Glorious One, upon which he will be seen by watchers and others on the day of his revelation. The apse stands for things that are below and above, calling to mind what has been and spiritually standing for what is to be.

3552 As soon as the priests and deacons have taken their stand, they begin to recite the Faith of the Fathers [the creed]: "Now we believe in one God the Father who is from eternity, who holds all by the hidden nod of his Divinity." [. . .] The Church confesses according to the confession of the fathers, and it employs their confession also at the time of the mysteries when its children thunder forth with their Faith, reciting it with mouth and heart, without doubting.

And when the Faith has been recited in due order, at once the Church's herald commands all to pray: "Pray," he says, "commemorating the fathers, the bishops with the doctors, and with them the priests, the deacons, and all in orders as well as all who have departed this world in faith, that they may be crowned on the day when they rise from the dead; and that we may join them in inheriting life in that kingdom. Pray, brethren, over the sacrifice we offer that it may be acceptable before God to whom it is offered, that by the brooding of the Holy Spirit it may become for us a cause of life in the heavenly kingdom." With these [words] the Church's herald urges the people, exhorting them to pray to God with a pure heart. 3553

Full of awe and covered with fear and great dread, the priest now offers the mystery that redeems us. 3554

In this frame of mind the priest stands to officiate, doing so with reverence, great awe, and trembling. Like Jacob he worships three times and three; then he draws near to kiss our Lord's tomb [the altar]. [. . .] He asks the deacons surrounding him to pray so that by his humility he may receive mercy from the Merciful One. He now prays with a contrite heart before God and confesses his sins and those of the ecclesiastical body. The priest asks for hidden power as well as [divine] help that he may use his gift according to God's desire. In all that the priest says before God the people concur, sealing his ministry with Amen. In this way the people endorse what is said by the priest, joining him by their prayers and by their word [the Amen]. 3555

Then the priest blesses the people using the words the life-giving mouth prescribed: "Peace be with you" says the priest to the children of the Church, for peace is multiplied in Jesus our Lord who is our peace. [. . .] 3556

The people answer the priest lovingly and say, "With you, O priest, and with your priestly spirit." They call "spirit" not the soul which is in the priest but the Spirit which the priest has received by the laying on of the hands. By the laying on of hands the priest receives the power of the Spirit that thereby he may be able to carry out the divine mysteries. That grace the people call the "Spirit" of the priest, and they pray that he may attain peace with it and it with him. This shows that even the priest needs prayer, and it is necessary that the whole Church should intercede for him. [. . .] 3557

Then the Church's herald commands all the people to give the Peace, each one to his or her companions, doing so in the love of our Lord. First the priests exchange the Peace in the sanctuary; the people give it in the nave in the same manner. [. . .] 3558

While the Peace is being shared in the church from one person to another, the book of the two [sets of] names, namely, those of the living and the dead, is read. The Church commemorates the living and the dead at this time so that it may declare that the living and the dead profit from the sacrifice. [. . .] 3559

The Church's herald now cries out and admonishes every one to confess to the Lord and to entreat the Lord with purity of heart. "Stand well," 3560

he says, "look carefully upon what is being done. Great is the mystery in which you minister, O mortal ones; the awesome mysteries are being consecrated by the hands of the priest: let every one be in fear and awe while the mysteries are being carried out. The priest has already advanced alone to pray: pray with him so that your peace may be increased through his mediation. Lower the eyes of your hearts and stretch to the height the secret glance of your minds; earnestly entreat and make supplication to the God of all at this time which is full of trembling and might." [. . .]

3561 At this point the priest uncovers the venerable mysteries and places on one side the veil that covers them. Removing the veil does not symbolize the Resurrection since the stone was not rolled away at the very moment of the Resurrection. It was afterwards when a watcher rolled away the stone. But the priests remove the veil before the symbol of the Resurrection.

3562 The priest first blesses the people. [. . .] "The grace," he says, "of Jesus our Lord and the love of the Father and the communion of the Holy Spirit be with us"—may the grace which our Lord has granted us by his coming give us confidence before his Majesty. May "the love of the Father"—who sent us the Son, who is from him—open for us the door of mercy in the day of his coming. May "the communion of the Holy Spirit," of which we have been made worthy, sanctify and purge us from the filth of our sins.

3563 Then he prepares the people with an exhortation, saying: "Let your minds be aloft in this hour when the royal Messiah is sitting at the right hand. Be not filled with vain thoughts of earthly things. Look upon him who is now mystically slain upon the altar, who sits on high and requests mercy for sinners."

3564 The people answer: "Unto you, Lord, our hearts are raised, to you the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, the glorious King—the glorious King whom the just and the fathers have glorified, in whom they have been glorified and in whom they give glory without end."

3565 The priest adds: "This acceptable and pure oblation is offered to the Lord—the Lord of the heights and the depths. He is the Lord who has taken away and who takes away the sin of the world. May this sacrifice blot out and forgive your sins. Behold, it is offered on behalf of the angels and people everywhere so that all together may delight, namely, with body and soul. Behold, it is offered for sinners and for the just that it may cleanse them from the stains of their sins. Behold, it is offered for the deceased and for the living that all peoples may find mercy in this sacrifice. Behold, it is offered to the God of all as a pledge that he will save us from the torments of Gehenna."

3566 The people answer, "It is meet, right, worthy, and becoming to offer this sacrifice for all creatures."

3567 The whole ecclesiastical body now observes silence, and all prepare to pray earnestly in their hearts. The priests are quiet, and the deacons stand in silence. All the people are silent, still, subdued, and calm. The altar

stands crowned with beauty and splendor, and upon it are the Gospel of Life and the adorable wood [the cross]. The mysteries are prepared. The censers are smoking. The lamps are shining. And the deacons like watchers are hovering and brandishing [fans]. Deep silence and peaceful calm settles on that place. It is filled and overflows with brightness and splendor, beauty and power.

The bright [-robed] priest, the tongue of the Church, opens his mouth 3568
and speaks in secret with God as a familiar. He recounts the glory of that incomprehensible Divinity, which is the cause of intelligible and sensible beings, which cannot be comprehended, searched out, or scrutinized, which cannot be known by corporeal beings. [. . .]

The priest adds: "All the watchers are standing in fear to praise the 3569
Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. The angels too offer worship to that Majesty, and the army-leaders [of heaven] send up praise continually. The cherubim applaud, the seraphim make holy with their sanctifications, the authorities and dominations with their praises; all at once cry out and say to one another."

The people reply, "Holy Lord who dwells in light. Holy, Holy, Holy 3570
Lord of whose glories the heavens and all the earth are full." [. . .] With these [words] the whole Church cries out and then returns to silence.

The priest begins to commune with God. He confesses [or gives thanks 3571
for] the mercy and the grace that have been wrought in us by the revelation of the Word, the Word who was revealed in a body [taken] from us. The Creator, adorable in his honor, took a human body so that by it he might renew the image of Adam which was worn out and effaced. [. . .]

Our Lord Jesus Christ went forth from us to the place above so that 3572
at his coming he might raise us up with him to the kingdom on high. Because he departed to a place that is unknown to us, he was pleased to comfort us by his Body and his Blood until his coming. And because it is not possible that he give his [physical] body and blood to his Church, he commanded us to perform this mystery with bread and wine. Happy are the Christian people! [. . .]

When the time of the passion of the Life-giver of all arrived, he ate the 3573
required Passover meal with his disciples. He took bread and blessed and broke and gave it to his disciples and said, "This is truly my Body, without doubt." And he took the cup and gave thanks and blessed and gave it to his disciples and said, "This is my true Blood which is for you." And he commanded them to receive [and] drink of it, all of them, that it might ever atone for their debts. [. . .]

The priest gives thanks before God and raises his voice at the end of his 3574
prayer so that all the people can hear him. He makes himself heard, and with his hand he signs the mysteries that are set [on the altar]; with an Amen the people concur and acquiesce in his prayer.

Then the Church's herald commands the people and says, "With your 3575
minds you are to pray. Peace be with us." In mind and in thought now

pray, for great peace is made to come about through carrying out of the mysteries.

3576 The priest begins to make earnest supplication before God, asking God in his love to graciously accept the living sacrifice that is being offered to him. He mentions the ecclesiastical orders, one after another, for whom the Church offers the venerable mysteries. First he commemorates the glorious Church that is in every place, asking that they [its members] may be of one mind and faith. He mentions the priests who are standing around and the deacons, entreating that they be made holy and pure. He recalls the martyrs, confessors, and doctors that they may be remembered in the Church during the mysteries. He commemorates kings and judges everywhere so that throughout the whole world they may be judged with equity. He commemorates in his prayer [lit. "word"] all mourners and ascetics that their prayer may daily be acceptable to God. He recalls the just and the righteous everywhere, asking that they keep the covenant they have made in [its] integrity. He commemorates the sons of Holy Church in all their grades, asking that they guard their faith with watchfulness. He also commemorates all the deceased who have departed in faith without doubting. He mentions himself, who has been accounted worthy of this mediation. He requests mercy for all creatures collectively. He also mentions those who pour out alms upon the poor, asking that they receive a double reward for their alms. He also mentions those who have fallen, sinners, and transgressors, asking that they return to penance and the pardon of transgressions. He mentions those for whom he is offering the sacrifice, that they may find mercy and forgiveness of the debts of their offenses. He mentions the heathen, the apostates, and those in error, entreating that they may come to know the faith of Holy Church. He mentions the whole world and its inhabitants so that battles, wars, and strife may cease. He mentions the weather and the crops of the whole year, asking that the crown of the year may be prosperous and blessed. He mentions his own place and all places together, requesting that there may be peace and quiet in the midst of their habitations. He mentions those who are sailing on the seas and [those] in the islands, praying that all may be saved from storms. He mentions those who are distressed and persecuted, asking that they receive solace and respite in their afflictions. He mentions those in prison and in bondage, asking that they may be loosed from their chains and grievous torments. He mentions those who have been cast into distant exile, begging that they may escape tribulations and temptations. He mentions those afflicted with sickness and disease, imploring that they recover bodily health and healing. He mentions those tempted by the accursed demons, asking that they find the Lord's mercy and compassion. In his prayer he also mentions those who hate the Holy Church, asking that their impieties before God may come to an end. He mentions the sins of the whole ecclesiastical body, entreating that its members be made worthy of the forgiveness of sins and offenses.

All these the priest mentions before God. [. . .] To this effect the priest 3577
prays before God, asking God to graciously accept the sacrifice which the priest offers him. On behalf of all is the living sacrifice offered within the Church, a sacrifice that assists and profits all creatures. By the priest's supplication on behalf of all classes their sins and offenses are forgiven.

After this the priest makes confession before God as our Lord Jesus 3578
taught his twelve. "Lo, we typify," says the priest, "and commemorate the passion, death, and resurrection of our Lord Jesus." He summons the Spirit to come down and dwell in the bread and wine, making them the Body and Blood of the royal Messiah. He calls upon the Spirit to light down upon the assembled congregation that by its gift its members may be worthy to receive the Body and Blood. The Spirit descends upon the oblation without change [of place] and causes the power of its Godhead to dwell in the bread and wine, completing the mystery of our Lord's resurrection from the dead. These things the priest says in earnest entreaty; and he draws himself up and stretches out his hands toward the height. Boldly looking upwards, the priest calls the Spirit to come and celebrate the mysteries he has offered. He requests the Spirit to come and brood over the oblation and bestow upon it power and divine operation. The Spirit comes down at the request of the priest—no matter how great a sinner the priest may be—and celebrates the mysteries by the mediation of the priest whom the Spirit has consecrated. It is not the priest's goodness that celebrates the venerable mysteries, but it is the Holy Spirit who does so by its brooding. The Spirit broods, not because of the worthiness of the priest but because of the mysteries that are set upon the altar. As soon as the bread and wine are set upon the altar they show forth a symbol of the death of the Son, also of his resurrection. So it is that the Spirit, who raised the Son from the dead, now comes down and celebrates the mysteries of the resurrection of his body. Thus does the Holy Spirit celebrate by the hands of the priest; and without a priest they [the mysteries] are never celebrated. They are not celebrated without a priest, for the Holy Spirit has not permitted [any other] to celebrate them. The priest receives the power of the Spirit through the laying on of hands, and by him are performed all the Church's mysteries. The priest consecrates the waters of baptism, and the Spirit bestows the adoption of children on those who are baptized. Without a priest a woman is not betrothed to a man; and without a priest their marriage festival is not accomplished. Without a priest the dead are not interred, nor is a deceased lowered into the grave without a priest. Common [unclean] water is not consecrated without a priest; and if there were no priest the whole house would be unclean. These things the Holy Spirit celebrates through the hands of the priest. [. . .]

The priest summons the Spirit, which comes down on the oblation; and 3579
he worships with quaking, fear, and harrowing dread.

Then the Church's herald cries out at that time: "In silence and awe 3580
stand up; peace be with us. Let all the people be in fear at this moment

when the venerable mysteries are being accomplished by the descent of the Spirit."

3581 Then the priest makes his voice heard by all the people and signs with his hand over the mysteries as before. He signs now not because the mysteries have need of a signing but to teach by the last sign that they are accomplished. Three signs the priest makes over the oblation; and by them he mystically perfects and completes it. Three bows does the priest make before God; and by them he openly adores the divine majesty. With one he praises, with one he confesses [or gives thanks], with one he prays; and he calls upon the Spirit to dwell and come down upon the offering. Three days did our Lord remain within the earth; and on the third day he rose and was resuscitated in great glory. In like manner the priest bows three times, the third [bow] symbolizing the resurrection of our Lord Jesus. Genuflections also the priest makes three times; and he typifies thereby our Lord's stay in the tomb. Three times he genuflects before the descent [of the Spirit]; yet he does not genuflect again because the mystery of the resurrection has been accomplished. He accomplishes the mystery of the resurrection by completing the mysteries; and he does not again symbolize the mystery of the Lord's death by a genuflection. The 318 bishops enjoined that on all Sundays and feasts there should be no kneeling.[a] No one therefore is allowed to bow the knee at the mysteries, only the priest who by genuflecting signifies a mystery. The priest may bow the knee before the descent but afterwards he may not [so] worship.

3582 Then the priest takes into his hands the living Bread and, looking upward, confesses his Lord. He breaks the Bread in the name of the Father and the Son and the Spirit, and, uniting the Blood with the Body, mentions the Trinity; with the same words he signs the Body with the living Blood. He unites them—the Body with the Blood and the Blood with the Body—so that all may confess that the Body and the Blood are one.

3583 Thus the priest, after all the ceremonies have been completed, blesses the people with the formula used by our Lord to bestow the blessing.

3584 He now begins to break the Body little by little that it may be easy to distribute to all who receive it. The resurrection of the Son the priest symbolizes by the completion of the mysteries; and most suitably does he break the Body so that he may distribute it since our Lord also, risen from the tomb in glory, appeared ten times to the women and to the disciples. [. . .]

3585 Then the Church's herald cries out and proclaims. "Let us all approach with fear the mystery of the Body and the Blood. In faith let us recall the passion of Jesus our Lord, and let us understand also his resurrection from the dead. For our sake the Only-Begotten Son of the God of all took a perfect man and accomplished his dispensation; he suffered on the cross, died, was resuscitated, rose, and ascended; in his love he gave

a. See Council of Nicaea I (325), can. 20 (WEC 2:1457).

us as a pledge his Body and Blood so that by them we might recall all the graces he has given us. Let us confess, worship, and glorify him at all times. Let us now draw near, doing so in pure love and faith so that we may receive the treasure of spiritual life; and with prayer, clean and pure, and with contrition of heart let us partake of the venerable mysteries of Holy Church; let us set the condition of repentance before God; let us have remorse and contrition for the abominable deeds we have done; let us ask mercy and the forgiveness of our sins from the Lord of all; and let us also forgive the offenses of our fellow-servants."

The people answer: "O Lord, pardon the sins of your servants and purify our conscience from doubt and from strife. O Lord, pardon the offenses of those who offer praise. Cleanse our souls from hatred and slander. O Lord, pardon the sins of your servants who have confessed your name, and make us worthy to receive this sacrament with faith. O Lord, pardon your servants who call upon your name daily; and grant us, Lord, to be yours, even as you desire; may these divine mysteries, Lord, grant us confidence and courage before your Majesty." 3586

Then the priest prays and begs God to sanctify us and blot out our sins by his grace, to make us worthy to stand before him without blemish, and—on behalf of all—to confidently call him Abba, Our Father. 3587

Then the people answer and say earnestly the prayer that the Living Mouth taught his beloved children: "Our Father, who [. . .]. And make us not enter into temptation nor trial, we who are feeble and without your power are nothing, but deliver us from the malice of the crafty Evil One, and suffer him not to draw near to us by his wiles: for yours is the power, the kingdom, and to you is due also glory forever and ever." 3588

Then the priest says to the people, "Peace be with you." 3589

The people answer, "And with you, O priest, and with your spirit." 3590

It was with the Lord's Prayer that the priest began the mysteries; now that all the mysteries have been completed, he concludes with the Our Father. 3591

"Peace be with you," says the priest; here he reminds us of our Lord's resurrection from the dead. "Peace be with you," said our Lord to his Twelve, when, appearing to them, he announced his resurrection, "Peace be with you"[1] said our Lord. [. . .] 3592

And when the children of the Church have been prepared to receive the mysteries, the priest declares, "Holy Things to the holy ones. To all the holy ones, sanctified by the Spirit of Adoption as children, are Holy Things fitting by consent of the fathers. To all the holy ones, whom baptism has sanctified, Holy Things are fitting according to ecclesiastical law. Those who have been removed from within the Church may not take part in receiving the divine mysteries." 3593

1. Luke 24:36; John 20:19.

3594 The people answer: "One is the Father, the Holy One who is from eternity, without beginning and without end; he has graciously made us worthy to acquire sanctification from the spiritual birth of baptism. One is the Father, and one also is the Son and the Holy Spirit: one in three and three in one, without alteration. Glory to the Father and to the Son who is from him, and to the Holy Spirit, a Being who is forever and ever without end."

3595 The priest is the first to receive the Sacrament so that he may teach the people that even the priest stands in need of mercy. The priest who has consecrated needs to receive the venerable mysteries that he also may be made worthy of the Communion, which is the pledge of life. The priest precedes the bishop in receiving the mysteries if a priest and not the high priest [the bishop] has consecrated them. In due order the other priests and deacons receive; then the people, men and women, little and great.

3596 As he goes forth, the priest blesses the people and says, "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you."

3597 The Sacrament is carried on the paten and in the cup with splendor and glory, with an escort of priests and a great procession of deacons. Thousands of watchers and ministers of fire and spirit go forth before the Body of our Lord and lead it. All the Church's children, all the people, rejoice when they see the Body brought forth from the altar. Even as the apostles rejoiced in our Lord after his resurrection, so do all the faithful rejoice when they see him. Great and unspeakable, dear brethren, is this mystery. May those who are capable of describing it do so fully if they can. "I have a mystery, I have a mystery,"[2] cried Isaiah, the marvel of the prophets, in regard to the revelation of God which he saw in the temple. If I should seek to write anything at all concerning this, all the parchments in this [world] would not suffice. Flesh, moreover, is fitting for the perfect and the full-grown; milk is for children till they reach maturity. "Whoever eats my flesh abides in me and I in him,"[3] provided my commandments are diligently obeyed. For "whoever eats my Body and drinks my Blood unworthily eats and drinks unto condemnation,"[4] thus doing so without profit.

3598 Those who approach to receive the Body stretch forth their hands, lifting up their right hand and placing it over its companion. Each person receiving joins his or her hands in the form of a cross and thus receives the Body of our Lord upon a cross. Upon a cross our Lord Jesus was set at naught; and on the same cross he ascended and was exalted to the height above. With this type the person who receives approaches [and] receives.

3599 And the priest who distributes says, "The Body of our Lord."

3600 The communicants receive in their hands the venerable Body of the Lord of all. They embrace it and kiss it with love and affection. [. . .]

3601 While the Body and Blood are being distributed to all who will receive, the Church cries out in honor of the mysteries and says: "Behold, the Medicine of life! Behold, it is distributed in the holy Church. Come, you

2. Isa 24:16, Peshitta. 3. John 6:56. 4. 1 Cor 11:27.

mortals, receive and be pardoned your sins. This is truly our Lord's Body and Blood, which the people have received and by which they have certainly been forgiven. This is the Medicine that heals diseases and festering sores. Receive, you mortals, and may it purify you from your sins. Come and freely receive forgiveness of sins and offenses through the Body and Blood, which take away the sin of the whole world."

After the whole congregation has received the Body and Blood, the 3602
people reply and say with love and rejoicing: "Our Lord Jesus, King to be adored of all creatures, remove all harm from us by the power of your mysteries; and when you shine forth at the end of time for the redemption of all, may we go forth to meet you with confidence, with Hosannas. May we confess your name for your goodness toward us; you have pardoned our sins, blotting them out by your Body and Blood. May we everywhere be worthy to send up to your Godhead glory, comeliness, and praise forever and ever."

Then the Church's herald cries out, proclaiming and urging the people 3603
to give thanks. For this reason he says, "May all of us who have been made worthy of the gift of the mysteries give thanks to and worship and glorify the God of all."

The people answer, "To him be glory for his gift, which cannot be re- 3604
paid, forever and ever. Amen and Amen."

Then the priest prays and gives thanks to the God of all, who has 3605
made us worthy of unspeakable mysteries; he begs and entreats God to strengthen us that we may become acceptable to him in thought, word, and deed.

Then all at the altar and in the congregation pray the prayer which that 3606
life-giving mouth taught. With it [people] begin every prayer, morning and evening, and with it they conclude all the rites of Holy Church. This, it is said, includes all prayer, and without it no prayer is concluded.

Then the priest goes forth [and] stands at the door of the altar; he extends 3607
his hands, blesses the people, and says—all the people the priest blesses at that time, symbolizing the blessing that our Lord Jesus gave to his twelve. On the day of his Ascension he, the High Pontiff, lifted up his hands, blessed, and made priests of his Twelve, and was then taken up. [. . .]

141-A-2. HOMILY 22. ON BAPTISM[†a]

[. . .] Behold the priest is ready to enter the holy of holies, to open the 3608
door of the kingdom on high before those who would enter. Behold, he approaches the curtain of the royal house in order to receive power to

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† Translation (altered) from R.H. Connolly, 35–43.

a. Homilies 21 and 22 are complementary. The former describes the ceremonies of the water bath (yet no postbaptismal anointing occurs); the latter describes the preparatory rites. Thus, following Connolly, the sequence here is Homily 22 followed by Homily 21.

perform the mysteries that are to be carried out through his hand. Behold, the King on high extends to him the hand of the Spirit and places in his hand the signet of his name so that he may seal his sheep. Behold, he puts on the priest the glorious vesture of the immortals so that he may hide there with the disgrace of those who were guilty and exposed. Behold, he has brought him to visit the flock entrusted to him, and he lifts up his voice and calls the sheep by name. Behold, the sheep are gathered together, the lambs and the ewes; he sets upon them the stamp of life of the word of his Lord. [. . .]

3609 He lifts up his voice and says, "Renounce the Evil One, his power, his angels, his service, and his error."

3610 The candidates first renounce the dominion of the Evil One who brought them to slavery; they then confess the power of the Creator who set them free. The person being baptized says two things while approaching the mysteries of the Church: there is a renunciation of the Evil One followed by a [confession of] faith in the Maker. "I renounce the Evil One and his angels," a person cries out, "and I have no dealings with him, not even in word."

3611 The priest stands as a mediator ["interpreter"] and asks, "Whose servant do you henceforth wish to become?" He learns whom the candidate wishes to call Master; and then the priest inscribes the candidate's name among the firstborn on high.

3612 From Satan and his angels the priest turns away [the catechumen's] face; he then traces the sign of God upon each candidate's forehead. [. . .]

3613 Then the catechumen comes to the confession of the faith. The state of his or her soul the candidate reveals aloud. "Behold, I have turned from the Evil One to the Creator." The candidate puts the devils to shame as he or she says, "Hear, you rebellious ones, I have no part with you." The assemblies on high the candidate makes rejoice by the words of faith. "Come, you spiritual ones, rejoice with me, for I am saved from destruction; I am your fellow-servant and a fellow-laborer in your works; and the Lord to whom you minister I desire to serve." The candidates name themselves as soldiers of the Kingdom on high—fugitives who have returned to take refuge with the King of kings.

3614 The candidates first entreat the stewards of Holy Church to present them at the door of the King that they may speak their words. The stewards are the priests, the ministers of the mysteries, to whom it is committed to dispense the treasury of the Spirit. One of the candidates, a wanderer, an exile, approaches, that the priests may set this person free from the subjection of the Evil One who took him or her captive. Like exiles the candidates stand naked, without covering. [. . .] As in a lawsuit the priest stands at the time of the mysteries and accuses the devil on behalf of sinners. The sinners also stand like poor persons who have been defrauded; they beg and entreat that mercy may assist them when they are judged. Naked, they stand, stripped, before the Judge so that by their

wretched plight they may win pity and thereby cover themselves. Without clothing the candidates plead their case against the Adversary.

They bend their knees and bow their heads in their confusion. They are 3615
ashamed to look up toward the Judge, who spreads sackcloth [upon them] and then draws them near to request mercy, making mention of their subjection to the Evil One. Two things they depict by kneeling down at the time of the mysteries: one, their fall; the other, that they are making payment as debtors. [. . .]

They wait for the priest to bring in his words before the Judge; and he 3616
[the priest] restores to them the chart of liberty with the oil and the water.

They also bring with them into the court sponsors who bear witness to 3617
their preparation and earnestness. With sincerity the candidates protest that they will abide in love of the truth; and their companions become surety [saying], "Yes, true is the protestation of their souls." The sponsors become, as it were, guides as to their words and actions, showing them how to live the spiritual life. They call [or read] their names and present them before the guard [the priests] that they may name them heirs, children, and citizens.

The priest enters the names of the lost ones in the book, which he 3618
brings in and places in the archives of the King's books. The priest makes each candidate stand as a sheep in the door of the sheep-fold; he signs the body of each and allows each candidate to mix with the flock. The sign of oil he holds in his hand, before those looking on; and with things that can be seen he proclaims the power of things that are hidden. And as by a symbol he shows to bodily eyes the secret power hidden in the visible sign. [. . .]

The priest holds the iron of the oil on the tip of his fingers; he signs the 3619
body and the senses of the soul with its sharp [edge]. The son of mortals whets the oil with the words of his mouth; he makes it as sharp as iron to cut off iniquity. The three names he recites one after another; and in triple fashion [with the three names] he completes and performs the mystery of our redemption. [. . .]

He casts three names upon the oil and consecrates it that it may sanctify 3620
human uncleanliness. With the name hidden in the oil the priest signs the visible body, and the sharp power of the name enters even into the soul. How wonderful! A man performs by a [power] that is not his own, signing weak bodies so that the inward [parts] feel the pain. He also exercises the office of a physician toward the members, touching the exterior and causing pain to reach the hidden parts. [. . .] With the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Spirit he seals his words; with their names he confirms those being baptized. The three names he traces upon the face as a shield, that the tyrant may see the image of the Divinity on the head of a human being. [. . .]

He calls the King's servants by their names and has them come [forth]; 3621
he makes them pass one by one, marking their faces with the brand of

the oil. By the voice of his utterances he proclaims the power hidden in his words [and declares] whose they are and with whose name they are branded. "Such a one," he says, "is the servant of the King of all kings, both those on high and those below; with the King's name each person is signed in order to serve [as a soldier] according to God's will." The name of the Divinity he mixes in his hands with the oil, and he signs and says "Father" and "Son" and "Holy Spirit." "This person," he says, "is signed with the three names, names that are equal, and there is no distinction of elder or younger between One and Another.

3622 The priest does not say "I sign" but "is signed"; for the stamp that he sets is not his but his Lord's. The priest is only the mediator who has been graciously chosen to minister; the sign that drives out iniquity and gives the Spirit is not his sign. By visible oil he reveals the power existing in the names, a power that can strengthen human weakness with hidden [powers]. The three names he recites with [the rubbing] of the oil upon the whole body, doing this so that the hostile demons and vexing passions may not cause harm. It is not by means of the oil that he keeps people from harm; it is the divine power that bestows its power upon bodily weakness. The oil is a symbol proclaiming divine power; by outward things he [God] gives assurance of his works [done] in secret. By his power body and soul acquire power; no more do they fear the injuries of death. [. . .]

141-A-3. SERMON 21. ON THE MYSTERIES OF THE CHURCH AND ON BAPTISM[†]

3623 [. . .] It is with God's name that the priest consecrates the water so that it may cleanse the defiled. Human defilement he cleanses with water; yet not by water but by the power of the name of the Divinity, a power which descends there. Divine power dwells in the visible waters, and by the force of God's power the waters dissolve the might of the Evil One and of Death. The Evil One and Death are undone by baptism; and the resurrection of the body and the redemption of the soul are preached therein. In the water, as in a tomb, body and soul are buried, and they die and live [again] with a type of the resurrection that is to occur at the end. [. . .]

3624 In the watery grave the priest buries the whole person whom he resuscitates by the power of life that is hidden in his words. At the door of the tomb of baptism he stands equipped, performing there a mystery of death and of resurrection. Audibly he proclaims the power of what he is doing—how it is that a person dies in the water and yet returns and lives again.

3625 He reveals to the baptized in whose name they will die and swiftly come to life.

3626 He mentions the name of the Divinity and says three times, "Father and Son and Holy Spirit," one equality. Three names he repeats aloud and says, "This person is baptized in the name of the Father and of the

[†] Translation (altered) from R.H. Connolly, 50–61.

Son and of the Spirit." He does not say, "I baptize" but "is baptized" since it is not the priest who baptizes but the power that is placed in the divine names. The names and not a human being grant forgiveness of sin. They sew new life in what is mortal. In their name the baptized are baptized [and buried] as in a tomb; the names call and raise the baptized from death.

Three times the baptized person bows his or her head at their names 3627
in order to learn their relationship—that whereas they are one, they are three. Imitating the mystery of our Redeemer, this person goes down into the font as if to spend three days within the tomb. Three days our Redeemer remained with the dead; also the person who is baptized, the three times are equal to the three days. [. . .]

As babies from the midst of the womb they look forth from the 3628
water; and instead of garments the priest receives and kisses them. They resemble babies when they are lifted up from the water; everyone embraces and kisses them as if they were babies. Instead of swaddling clothes actual garments are placed on them; they are adorned like a bridegroom on the day of the wedding feast. By their baptism they also enact a type of wedding feast, by their adornment depicting the glory prepared for them. By the beauty of their garments they proclaim the beauty that is to be: here is a type but there the truth that is not simulated. [. . .]

[. . .] There is no measure to the greatness of the food with which they 3629
are nourished. They taste of the divine mysteries as if they were milk, and by degrees they are led like children to the things to come. A spiritual mother [the Church] prepares spiritual milk for their lives; and instead of breasts the Church puts into their mouths the Body and Blood. With the Body and Blood the Church keeps alive the children born from her womb. [. . .]

Like an eagle the priest hovers before them and prepares for them the 3630
food of maturity with which they are to be nourished. A living sacrifice he prepares and sets before them; he summons them to examine it with affection of soul. An awesome mystery he begins to depict spiritually; he mixes his words like paints before those looking on. With the pen of his word he draws an image of the crucified King; as with the finger he points out the King's passion as well as his exaltation. Death and life the herald's voice proclaims to the ears of the people; forgiveness of iniquity he distributes, he gives, in the Bread and in the Wine. The mystery of death he shows first to those who are mortal; then he reveals the power of life hidden in his words.

As if for a dead person he spreads out a bed with the sacred vessels; he 3631
lifts up, he sets thereon the bread and wine like a corpse. The King's burial day he carries out mystically. Symbolic soldiers stand guard, for two deacons are placed like a rank [of soldiers] on each side so that they may guard the awesome mystery of the King of kings. Awe and love engage them while they look intently upon the bread and wine as upon the King.

With bright apparel their bodies are clothed exteriorly; their garments show forth the beauty of their souls. Their stoles are a sign of the heavenly beings who were clothed in beautiful garments at the temple of the tomb. Two angels the disciples saw at the tomb of our Lord,[1] angels attending the place of his body as though this place were his body [itself]. And if spiritual beings with fear honored the place where his body was placed, how much more should corporeal beings honor the mystery that has honored them? Like the two watchers two deacons now stand hovering over the mysteries.

3632 [. . .] The priest calls upon the Hidden One to send him hidden power that he may grant the bread and wine power to give life. He turns the gaze of all toward what is hidden that they may view secret things by means of visible things.

3633 "Lift up your souls on high," he cries out and says to those on earth.

3634 And they answer, "To the Lord, who is hidden on high."

3635 The priest recites and gives the reason for gazing on high and why he calls us to take part with him. "Look upon the offering of the sacrifice which is for you, which Divinity accepts with love on your behalf. Look steadfastly upon the bread and wine that are upon the table, which the Spirit's power changes into the Lord's Body and Blood. See outward things with the external senses of your body and depict things hidden by the inner faculties of your minds. Recall your deaths by the sign that is full of both death and life. Praise and magnify him who sets power in things that are weak."

3636 As if with a signet they seal his words with their voices, "Right, just, becoming, and holy is the sacrifice of our life."

3637 [. . .] With great earnestness the priest prays for himself and for all people that his word may be an acceptable sacrifice before the Most High. He imitates the spiritual beings by his words while making supplication; and in a holy way he teaches the people to cry "Holy." The sanctifying words of the heavenly beings he proclaims to the people that they too may cry out, "Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord."

3638 By the power of his will the priest distributes life in the Bread, drives out iniquity, and makes the Spirit dwell in the midst of the members [of the body]. The power of the Spirit comes down to a mortal man, dwells in the bread, and consecrates it by the strength of its power. [. . .]

3639 He extends his hands on high with his soul, summoning the Spirit to come down and grant his spiritual request. Not in [its] nature does the Spirit, who does not move about, come down. It is the power of the Spirit that descends and works to accomplish all. Its power comes down upon the visible table and makes it possible for the bread and wine to bestow life. The power of the Spirit strengthens the hand of the priest that his hand may grasp its power. [. . .]

1. See Luke 24:4.

With human hands a corporeal being takes hold of the Spirit in the Bread; he raises his eyes and then breaks it. He breaks the Bread and places it in the Wine; he signs it and says, "In the name of the Father and the Son and the Spirit, an equal nature." 3640

[. . .] Truly did the Lord of the mystery rise from the tomb; without doubt the mystery acquires the power to bestow life. Suddenly the bread and wine acquire the power of life. Immediately they forgive the sins of those receiving them. [. . .] Wine and water he pours into the cup before he consecrates, for water is also mingled with blood in created things. [. . .] 3641

With the voice of praise they seal the words that complete the mysteries; and they render holiness to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit. "Holy is the Father, and holy is his Begotten, and the Spirit who is from him [the Father]; and to them is due holiness and praise from all mouths." 3642

After sanctifying and giving praise, the newly baptized lift up their hearts toward the Gift. With their senses and mental faculties they are eager to approach the Bread and the Wine within which the forgiveness of sins is hidden. By faith they acquire power to see things hidden; and, as if it were the King, they triumphantly carry the Sacrament in their hands. They hold it, certain that the Body of the King dwells in the visible bread; in it the resurrection of the dead is preached to those who eat of it. 3643

"The Body," says the priest when he gives it. "The Blood" he calls the mingled Wine within the cup. He gives the Bread and says, "The Body of the Messiah the King" [or "of Christ the King"]. And in like manner he gives the Wine to drink, saying, "The Blood of Christ." 3644

He believes that the Bread and the Wine are the Body and the Blood. [. . .] Let us receive the Bread, affirming that it is able to forgive sin. Let us drink the Wine, and let us confess that doing so gives life. Let us honor them as the Body and Blood of the King that they may lead us even unto the glorious things that are in the kingdom. Let us believe that they are able to give life to our mortality; let us stretch forth our minds so that they may look forward to the hope the Body and Blood contain. [. . .] 3645

142. *TESTAMENT OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST*

Dating from the fourth or fifth century and written as a private venture, probably somewhere in Asia Minor, the *Testament of Our Lord* (*Testamentum Domini*) purports to be an instruction composed by the apostles and reporting the words of Jesus to his Church. Its two books, beginning with an apocalyptic introduction from an unknown source, rely much on the so-called *Apostolic Tradition* once ascribed to Hippolytus of Rome (WEC 1:31-A). Church design, ordination, the Eucharist, initiation, times for prayer are among the numerous topics treated by the unknown author.

Originally written in Greek, the work exists in a seventh-century Syriac version (Latin translation published in 1899 by Ignatius Rahmani) and

in an Ethiopic version (translated into French by Robert Beylot and published in 1984). There is also an Arabic version, which for the most part remains to be edited, as well as what appear to be various fragments in Greek and Coptic. The treatise has been incorporated into several Eastern collections.

CPG 1: no. 1743 * Altaner (1961) 60 * Altaner (1966) 257 * Bardenhewer (1908) 355–56 * Bardenhewer (1910) 324–25 * Hamell 84 * Quasten 2:185–86 * Steidle 270 * Tixeront 214–15 * DACL 11:622–24 * DDC 7:1206–7 * DPAC 2:3435 * DTC 15.1:194–200 * EEC 2:820 * EEChr 2:1109 * ODCC 1593 * PEA (1894) 5.1 (n.s.) 1016–20

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The Testament or Words Which Our Lord, Having Risen from the Dead, Spoke to His Holy Apostles, and Which Were Written Down in Eight Books by Clement of Rome, a Disciple of Peter†

I.XIX. [. . .] Now I will tell you about the holy building. Then I will speak to you about the holy rule that concerns the Church's priests. 3646

The church is to be constructed as follows: it should have three doors, this being an image of the Trinity. The *diaconicon* should be to the right of the entrance on the right so that the eucharistic offerings may be seen. It is to have a courtyard with a portico extending to the *diaconicon*. 3647

Within the courtyard there should be a baptistery that is twenty-one cubits[a] long as a type of the prophets, and twelve cubits wide as a type of those who were appointed to preach the Gospel. It is to have one entrance and three exits. 3648

There should be a place for the catechumens, this also being for the exorcists. It should not be far from the church so that when the catechumens enter, standing there, they might hear the readings, the spiritual canticles, and the psalms. 3649

A throne is to be placed there facing the east. On its right and on its left will be places for the presbyters. On the right side sit those presbyters who are more distinguished and honorable and who toil in [preaching] the word;[1] on the left are those of middle age. 3650

The place for this throne is to be elevated by three steps since this is where the altar is located. In this house there are to be two galleries, on the 3651

† Translated from E. Rahmani, *Testamentum Domini Nostri Jesu Christi* (Mainz, 1899). A most helpful English translation of the *Testament* is that by G. Sperry-White as listed in the introductory bibliography for this document.

a. Cubit: an ancient unit of measure, often about eighteen inches long.

1. See 1 Tim 5:17.

right and on the left, one for the men and the other for the women; these are to have lights, both as a type and for reading.

3652 The altar is to have a pure linen veil, one that is stainless.

3653 The baptistery is also to be concealed by a veil.

3654 A place is to be constructed for commemorating the names so that the priest, sitting with the chief deacon and the readers, may inscribe the names of those presenting the offerings or the names of those for whom they have been presented so that when the bishop offers the sacrifice, the reader or the chief deacon might mention their names in the memorial which the priests and the people offer for them;[2] for this there is also a type in heaven.

3655 The place for the priests is to be behind the veil, close to the place of the commemoration.

3656 The treasury and alms box are to be near the *diaconicon.*

3657 The place for reading the lessons is to be a little distant from the altar.

3658 The place for the bishop is to be close to the church's courtyard.

3659 The same is true for the place of the widows, whom we call "those sitting in front."

3660 The place for the priests and deacons is to be behind the baptistery.

3661 The deaconesses are to remain at the door of the church.

3662 Close to the church is to be a *hospitium* where the chief deacon will receive strangers.

3663 I.xx. Once the church has been constructed as it should be, a bishop is to be ordained, someone chosen by all the people according to the desire of the Holy Spirit,[3] someone who is irreproachable,[4] chaste,[5] gentle,[6] humble, without anxiety, vigilant, not loving money,[7] blameless,[8] not contentious,[9] showing pity, learned,[10] not loving talkativeness, a lover of all that is good,[11] a lover of labor, someone who loves widows, who loves orphans and the poor, who is experienced in the mysteries, who is far removed from the things of this world, who is peaceful, perfect in all that is good, someone to whom God's order and place are entrusted. It is good that he have no wife or, at least, that he has been married only once,[12] so that he can sympathize with the weakness of the widows. He is to be appointed bishop only when he has attained middle-age, not when he is still young.

3664 I.xxi. Such a person is to be ordained for the Church and on a Sunday; all are to consent to his ordination, with all the priests and bishops who are present being witnesses on his behalf.[b]

3665 After washing their hands, the bishops lay their hands upon him. The presbyters, however, stand near the bishops while they, the presbyters, silently lift up their hearts in awe.

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b. See ApT 2 (WEC 1:617).

2. See Luke 10:20; Rev. 13:8; 17:8; 21:12. 3. See Acts 13:2; 20:28. 4. See 1 Tim 3:2; Titus 1:6. 5. See 1 Tim 3:2; Titus 1:8. 6. See 1 Tim 3:3. 7. Ibid. 8. See Titus 1:7. 9. See 1 Tim 3:3. 10. See 1 Tim 3:2. 11. See Titus 1:8. 12. See 1 Tim 3:2; Titus 1:6.

While imposing hands the bishops are to say: 3666

"We place our hands upon this servant of God whom the Spirit has chosen for the stable and religious establishment of the Church whose organization is monarchical and indissoluble, the Church of the living and invisible God, for delivering a true judgment, for holy and divine revelations, for divine gifts and faithful doctrine of the Trinity, through the cross, through the Resurrection, through incorruptibility, in the holy Church of God."

Then one bishop, who has been commanded by the other bishops, lays his hands upon him while saying the prayer of ordination. 3667

Prayer for Episcopal Ordination[c]

"O God, by your power you have made and strengthened all things; by your will and power you have established the world; you have crowned all that has been made by you; you have allowed all to observe in fear your commandments; you have permitted us to understand truth, and you made known to us your good Spirit; you have sent us your beloved Son, our only and sinless Savior, for our redemption. O God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Father of mercies and of all consolation,[13] you perpetually remain in the heavens above, where you are most high, glorious,[14] to be feared, great, where you see all that is; you know all things before they come to be; all things were with you before they existed; you gave light to your Church through the grace of your only-begotten Son; from the beginning you established those who await what is just and who do what is holy, so that they might dwell with you; you chose Abraham who pleased you by his faith,[15] and having sanctified holy Enoch,[16] you hid him in the treasure house of life. You established princes and priests in your most high temple. Lord, you called them to praise and glorify in the place of glory your name and that of your Only-Begotten. Before the creation of the world, Lord, you did not leave your highest temple to be without a servant. Furthermore, from the creation of the world you have adorned and beautified your sanctuaries with your faithful leaders and priests according to the image of heaven. Lord, you have desired to be glorified now by him, your servant, and are pleased to establish a leader for your people. Shine and spread the wisdom and the grace of your princely Spirit, whom you gave to your beloved Son, Jesus Christ. O God, give your servant wisdom, counsel, strength, power, unity of spirit, so that he may do all things through your help. O God, give him the Holy Spirit which was given to your holy ones. Lord, grant that this your servant might please you, for doxology and unending praise, for fitting hymns of glory, for suitable times, for prayers that are accepted, for faithful asking, for correct thought, for a humble heart, for the working of life and of 3668

c. See ApT 3 (WEC 1:619–20).

13. See 2 Cor 1:3. 14. See Rev 4:11. 15. See Heb 11:8. 16. See Heb 11:5.

truth, for knowledge of God and uprightness. Father, you know the hearts of all.[17] Grant that this your servant, whom you chose for the episcopate, might feed your holy flock and function as chief priest without complaint, serving you day and night. Look upon him and make him worthy, he who diligently and with awe offers you the offerings of your holy Church. Give him your powerful Spirit which can break all bonds just as you granted this same Spirit to your apostles. So that he may please you in humility, fill him with love, knowledge, learning, discretion, discipline, perfection, magnanimity with a pure heart while he prays for the people, while he laments for those who are stubborn, and may he assist them in obtaining help while he offers you praise, thanksgiving, and prayers unto the odor of sweetness through our Lord Jesus Christ, your beloved Son, through whom you receive glory, honor, and might, together with the Holy Spirit before the ages, now and at all times, for generations and generations, forever and ever. Amen."

3669 And the people are to say, "Amen." Then they cry out, "Worthy, worthy, worthy."

3670 After he has been made a bishop, the people are to feast for a period of three days as a figure of him who after three days rose from the dead. Then the bishop gives them the kiss of peace.[d]

3671 I.XXII. The bishop is to be assiduous at the altar, day and night persevering in prayer, especially at the prescribed hours of the night, at the first hour of sleep, at midnight, when the morning star rises, and at the break of dawn. Also at the third, the sixth, the ninth, and the twelfth hours, and at the lighting of the lamps. At whatever hour he unceasingly prays to God, whether for himself or for the people, he does a good thing. He alone is to reside within the church as his house. And if he has one or two companions who are one in spirit with him, they may remain with him so that they might pray together, for "where two or three are gathered in my name," they should know what I have said, namely, "I am in the midst of them."[18] And if he is unable to stay for the whole night, he should at least remain at the hours mentioned above, for at these hours the angels visit the church.

3672 The bishop is to fast three days each week throughout the year. Additionally, he is to fast for three weeks after his ordination, according to the number of the eighteen exalted entrances through which the Only-Begotten passed on his way to his passion. On Sunday he may eat only bread with oil, honey, salt, and all fruits from the trees. May he never partake of wine except in the cup of the offering; he can use this whether he is sick or in good health, for it is right that this be for the priests only.

3673 And so after this three-week fast he is to fast for three days each week throughout the year. The rest of the time he is to fast as he is able. He is

d. See ApT 4 (WEC 1:621).

17. See Acts 1:24. 18. Matt 18:20.

never to eat meat, not that eating meat is reprehensible but because food, which gives strength, is not appropriate for one who loves infirmity; furthermore, he is to abstain from meat so that he might be vigilant.

The sacrifice is offered only on Saturday or on Sunday and on a day 3674
when there is fasting. In the evening, however, he is to explain the things that are hidden to those whom he has ascertained as having ears to hear.[19] If on a fast day he is found to be sick, he may immediately heal himself, eating fish and always taking a little wine of the sacrifice so that the Church not cease to be because he is lying sick, but rather that those who are learning the word may be joyful. When he teaches in the church, may he teach diligently, as a man who gives testimony for the doctrine of the whole ministry of the Father of all, a doctrine that is accurately written down. May he speak all that he truly knows and remembers. For if he knows what he is speaking, he can rightly hope that his listeners will also know these things. With all zeal may he supplicate the Lord so that his word may produce the fruits of the Holy Spirit in his hearers. May he do all things in an orderly and knowledgeable manner.

He is to dismiss the catechumens after he has instructed them by means 3675
of the reading, exhortations from the prophets and the apostles, and through doctrinal instruction, so that they might know the Lord whom they are confessing.

Having sent forth the catechumens, he is to teach the mysteries to the 3676
faithful; and after the instruction in the mysteries he may offer so that they also might offer with fear, knowing the mystery in which they are participating.

I.XXIII. On Saturday the bishop is to offer three loaves, this symbolizing 3677
the Trinity; on Sunday four loaves as a type of the Gospel.

When the bishop offers the sacrifice, the veil of the sanctuary door is 3678
drawn as a sign of the error of the people of old, and may he offer behind the veil with the presbyters, deacons, the designated widows, the subdeacons, the deaconesses, the lectors, and those having charisms. The bishop is to stand first, in the middle, and immediately after him stand the presbyters on both sides. The widows come after the presbyters who are located on the left; the deacons stand behind the presbyters located on the right. Then come the readers, with the subdeacons behind them and the deaconesses behind the subdeacons.

The bishop extends his hand over the loaves that are placed on the altar, 3679
and the presbyters impose hands with him.[e] As to the others, they merely stand in silence.

Bread brought by a catechumen is not accepted, not even if the catechu- 3680
men has a believing son or wife and wishes to offer on their behalf. A catechumen is not to offer till after baptism.

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e. See ApT 4 (WEC 1:622).

19. See Deut 29:3.

3681 Before the bishop or the presbyter offers, the people are to exchange the kiss of peace.

3682 Then, once a great silence has come about, the deacon proclaims:

Proclamation of the Deacon over the Eucharist

3683 "Lift up your hearts.
If any hate their neighbor, they are to be reconciled.[20]
If any have a conscience without faith, they are to confess this.
If any have thoughts contrary to the commandments, they are to depart.
If any have fallen into sin, they are not to hide themselves, for this is wrong.
If any have a weak mind, they are not to come near.
If any are defiled, if any are not firm, they are to give place.
If any are strangers to the command of Jesus, they are to leave.
If any despise the prophets,[21] they are to separate themselves. They are to keep themselves from the wrath of the Only-Begotten.
May we not despise the cross.
May we flee the threats of our Lord.
We have the Lord looking on, the Father of lights[22] with the Son, and the angels visiting us.
Take care that you do not show anger toward your neighbor.
Take care that none are angry; God sees.
Lift up your hearts for offering unto the salvation of life and of holiness.
With the wisdom of God may we receive the grace that is given us."

3684 Then the bishop, confessing, is to offer thanks in a loud voice:
"May our Lord be with you."
The people answer, "And with your spirit."
The bishop is to say, "Lift up your hearts."
The people are to say, "We have lifted them up to the Lord."
The bishop is to say, "Let us praise the Lord."
All the people are to say, "It is right and just."
The bishop is to cry out, "Holy things to the holy ones."
The people are to cry out together, "Ceaselessly in heaven and upon the earth."

The Eucharist or the Thanksgiving over the Oblation

3685 The bishop is to immediately say:
"May we give thanks to you, holy Lord, the strengthener of our souls, the giver of our life, the treasure of incorruptibility, Father of your Only-Begotten and of our Savior, whom you sent to us in the last times to be our redeemer and the herald of your plans.[23] Your plan is that we be saved through you. Our heart, O Lord, praises you, as well as our mind, our soul together with each thought, so that your grace, O Lord, may come over us.

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20. See Matt 5:24. 21. See 1 Thess 5:20. 22. See James 1:17. 23. See Jer 29:11.

In this way may we continually praise you and your only-begotten Son and your Holy Spirit, now, always, and forever. Amen.

"You are the power of the Father, the grace of the nations, knowledge, 3686
true wisdom, the exaltation of the humble, the medicine of souls, assurance for us who trust in you. You are the strength of the just, the hope of those who suffer persecution, a harbor for those who are tossed about, the one who gives light to those who are perfect, the Son of the living God.[24] Out of your unsearchable gift make rise over us greatness of soul, confidence, wisdom, constancy, unwavering faith, unshaken hope, knowledge of your Spirit, humility, rectitude, so that we your servants and all people may always and without blemish praise you, bless you, confess and beseech you, O Lord."

Then the bishop is to say:

"Lord, you are the maker of all that is above, the king of the treasur- 3687
ies of light, the inspector of the heavenly Sion, the king of the orders of archangels and of dominions, the power of the thrones, the vestments of light, the joy of all that pleases the father of kings. You sustain all things with your hand and moderate by your design through your only-begotten Son, who was crucified for our sins. Lord, being pleased with him, into the womb of a virgin you sent your Word, the sharer of your counsel and covenant and through whom you made all things. When he was conceived and became incarnate, your Son appeared, born of the Holy Spirit and of the Virgin. Fulfilling your will and preparing a holy people,[25] he stretched out his hands[26] to suffering so that he might free from death's pain and corruption those who hope in you. When he was willingly handed over to his passion—that he might raise up those who had fallen, that he might find those who were lost, give life to the dead, abolish death, break the bonds of the devil, fulfill the will of the Father, trample down hell, open the way of life, enlighten the righteous, establish boundaries, illumine the darkness, nurture infants, show forth the resurrection—he took bread, gave it to his disciples, and said: Take and eat. This is my Body which is broken for you unto the remission of sins. As often as you do this you make my resurrection.[27]

"He likewise gave them the cup of wine which he mixed, as a type of 3688
the blood that was poured out for us."

Then the bishop is to say:

"Remembering your death and resurrection, we offer you the bread and 3689
the cup, giving thanks to you who alone are God for ever and our Savior because you have made us worthy to stand before you and serve in your priesthood. And so we, your servants, give you thanks, O Lord."

The people are to say likewise.

Then the bishop is to say:

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24. See Matt 16:16. 25. See 1 Pet 2:9; Exod 19:6. 26. See John 21:18. 27. See Matt 26:27–28; 1 Cor 11:24–26.

3690 "We offer you this thanksgiving, eternal Trinity, Lord Jesus Christ, Lord Father, before whom every creature and all nature tremble, taking refuge in you. Lord Holy Spirit, bring forward this drink and this food of your holiness. May they be for us not unto judgment nor ignominy nor perdition but to cure and strengthen our spirit. O God, grant us that through your name every thought of whatever displeases you may take flight. Lord, grant that all proud thought may be removed from us through your name which is written within the veils of your sanctuaries on high. When hell hears your name, it is astounded, the pit is rent, the spirits are expelled, the dragon is bruised,[28] unbelief is banished, disobedience is subjugated, anger is placated, envy has no effect, arrogance is refuted, avarice is eradicated, boasting is removed, pride is made humble, every root of bitterness is destroyed. Lord, grant that our innermost eyes may see you, glorify you, praise you, remember you, and serve you because in you alone do they have their portion, O Son and Word of God to whom all things are subject. Sustain to the end all who have the gifts of revelation;[29] confirm those who have the gift of healing;[30] strengthen those who have the power of tongues;[31] guide those who labor in the teaching of doctrine.[32] Cure those who always do your will; visit the widows and assist the orphans. Remember those who in faith have gone to their rest, and grant us a share with your holy ones;[33] grant us the power of pleasing you just as they have pleased you. Nourish your people in righteousness and make all of us holy. Therefore, O God, grant that all may be united to you, all who by participating receive from these your sacred mysteries that they may be filled with the Holy Spirit for strengthening truth with faith, that they might always praise you and the Son, your beloved Jesus Christ, through whom be the glory and the kingdom to you with your Holy Spirit forever and ever."

The people are to say, "Amen."[34]

3691 The deacon: "Let us carefully beseech the Lord our God so that he grant us the spirit of unity."

3692 The bishop: "Grant us unity in the Holy Spirit and heal our souls through this offering so that we might live in you forever and ever."

The people: "Amen."

The people, praying, repeat the same words.

3693 This having taken place, the conclusion of the thanksgiving is to be as follows: "May the name of the Lord be blessed forever."[35]

People: "Amen."

3694 Priest: "Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord; blessed be the name of his glory."

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28. See Rom 16:20. 29. See 1 Cor 14:26. 30. See 1 Cor 12:9. 31. See 1 Cor 12:10. 32. See 1 Cor 12:8. 33. See Eph 1:18; Col 1:12. 34. See 1 Cor 14:16. 35. See Matt 21:9.

All the people are to say, "So be it, so be it."

The bishop is to say, "Send the grace of the Spirit upon us."

Furthermore, the bishop, should he be polluted, is not to offer; this is 3695
done by a presbyter. Nor is this same bishop to receive from the mysteries, not as if he were defiled, but because of the honor due the altar. However, after he has fasted and washed himself with clean water, he may return to his ministry. The same for a presbyter. Also, should a widow be menstruous, she is not to approach to receive the Eucharist. Likewise any other menstruous woman—or a layman or anyone from the assembly who has had a nocturnal emission—is not to approach, for the sake of showing honor, unless fasting and washing have preceded.[36]

The clergy are the first to receive, doing so in the following order: the 3696
bishop, then the presbyters, afterwards the deacons, the widows; then the readers, the subdeacons, those possessing charisms, the newly baptized, and the young children.[37] The people do so in this order: elderly men, virgins,[38] then the others. As to the women, first the deaconesses and then the others.

When receiving the Eucharist a person is to say, "Amen." After receiv- 3697
ing, one is to pray as follows: "Holy, holy, holy ineffable Trinity, grant that I may receive this Body unto life and not unto condemnation. Grant that I might bear fruits that are pleasing to you so that in this way I might live in you and obey your commandments. With confidence might I invoke you,[39] O Father, when I call down upon myself your kingdom and your will,[40] may your name be made holy in me, O Lord, because you are strong and glorious; to you be praise forever. Amen." When this prayer has been completed, one may eat.

Receiving from the cup, a person is to again say, "Amen," doing so for 3698
the fullness of the Body and Blood.

Once all have received, they are to pray and give thanks for receiving 3699
when the deacon proclaims:

"Having received from his holy mysteries, may we praise the Lord; may 3700
we, giving praise to the Lord our God, request and beseech that this reception be for the life and salvation of our souls."

Then the bishop:

"Lord, giver of eternal life, pilot of our souls, leader of the holy ones, 3701
grant us eyes that understand and are always focused on you, ears that hear you alone, so that our souls be filled with grace; create in us a clean heart[41] so that we might always fathom your greatness. O wonderful God and lover of us all, make our souls good and make our thoughts unbending through this Eucharist which we, the least of your servants, have received. Blessed is your kingdom, O Lord our God, a kingdom glorious and exalted in the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit before the ages, now and always, for all generations, forever and ever."

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36. See Heb 10:22. 37. See Matt 18:1–4; Mark 10:15. 38. See 1 Cor 7:32; Rev 14:4. 39. See 1 Pet 1:17. 40. See Matt 6:8. 41. See Ps 51:10.

People: "Amen."

3702 I.xxiv. If the priest consecrates oil for healing the sick,[f] the vase containing the oil is placed before the altar. In a low voice he says:

3703 "Lord God, you granted us the Spirit, the Paraclete; your name gives health; your spirit is unchanging; your name is hidden from the proud and revealed to the wise.[42] O Christ, you sanctified us; you made your servants wise by means of your mercy, your servants whom you chose by your wisdom; you sent the wisdom of your Spirit to sinners through your holiness when you granted us the power of your Spirit; you cure those who are in distress and who are suffering;[43] you gave the gift of healing to those whom you made worthy of this gift. Send upon this oil, which is a type of your fullness, the delivering power of your beneficial compassion so that it might free those who labor, cure those who are sick,[44] and sanctify those who are returning when they draw near to your faith; for you are ever strong and wonderful."

People: "Amen."

3704 I.xxv. This prayer is likewise said over the water.

3705 I.xxvi. At the very break of dawn the bishop is to gather the people so that the service might conclude before sunrise.

3706 At the first hymn of dawn, with the presbyters, deacons, the other clerics with the faithful standing by, the bishop is to say, "Glory to the Lord."

People: "It is right and just."

Praise of Dawn

3707 Bishop: "It is right and just that we praise and exalt you, that we confess you, O ineffable God, the maker of all things. Stretching forth our souls, may we send up a morning song of praise[45] to you, O Lord, for you are most wise, strong, the God of great mercy, the support and protector of our souls. We praise you, O Word, born of the Father before the ages. You alone rest with the holy ones. You are praised by the archangels; you are the maker not made by hands; you make known the holy things that are invisible, pure, and immaculate; you have revealed to us the mysteries of your wisdom;[46] you promised us the light of immortality. Lord, we your servants give you glory in pure holiness."

3708 The people are to say, "We praise you, we bless you, we confess you, O Lord. We beseech you, O God."

The bishop then adds:

3709 "O God, you are the maker of light, the principle of life, the giver of wisdom, the gift of grace, the creator of souls, the author of beautiful things, the giver of the Holy Spirit, the treasure house of wisdom, the maker of good things, the teacher of holiness. By your will you rule the

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f. See ApT 5 (WEC 1:627).

42. See John 14:17. 43. See Matt 4:23. 44. See Mark 16:18; 1 Cor 12:9. 45. See Ps 5:3. 46. See 1 Cor 2:6–7.

world. You receive prayers that are pure. We praise you, the only-begotten Son, the first-born and Word of the Father. You have given us your grace. We beseech you, the helper, and your Father who begot you. Your essence cannot be harmed; it is where neither moth nor worm corrupts.[47] To those who place all their trust in you, you grant what the angels long to see.[48] You are the guardian of eternal light and of incorruptible treasures; by the will of your Father you shed light upon the darkness within us; you raised us from the depths to light; from death you gave us life; you freed us from slavery; by the cross you made us members of your Father's household; through your Gospel you led us to the heights of heaven; through your prophets you consoled us; through your own person you made us members of the household of the Father of lights.[49] Lord, grant that we may praise our God so that with unending thanksgiving we, as your servants, O Lord, might sing your praises."

People: "We praise you, we bless you, we confess you. And we beseech you, our God." 3710

The bishop is also to say: 3711

"With our mouths we sing to you this triple hymn of praise as an image of your kingdom, O Son of God; through eternity you are above all things with the Father; all creation praises you as it trembles in awe of your Spirit; all nature quakes and is fearful before you; every righteous soul blesses you; to you we have fled; for our benefit you calmed confusion, storms, the wind; for us you became a harbor of peacefulness and a refuge from evil; in you we place our hope of eternal salvation; you grant soothing rest to those tossed about on the seas and by storms.[50] When sick, we entreat you and you freely grant healing. You accompany those who are in prison; you have freed us from the bonds of death; you console the distressed, the afflicted, and those who have wearied themselves with the cross; you turn away from us all threats; for our sake you refuted the deceit of Satan; you banished his threats and gave us fortitude; you drove out all error from those trusting in you. So we, Lord, praise you whom the prophets and apostles secretly praised; to you we offer our praise so that, obtaining understanding through you and always doing your will, we might attain rest in the mansions of life. Lord, grant that we might walk according to your precepts. In mercy visit us, both the small and the great, both the prince and his people, both the shepherd and his sheep, because you, Lord, are our God. Blessed and praised is your kingdom, that of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, before the ages, now and always through all generations, forever and ever."

People: "Amen."

To be sung are the psalms and four canticles, one from Moses, the second from Solomon, and the others from the prophets. 3712

47. See Matt 6:19. 48. See 1 Pet 1:12. 49. See Jas 1:17. 50. See Ps 107:28–29.

3713 Singing are the boy singers, two virgins, three deacons, three presbyters.
3714 Praise is likewise given by the bishop or by a presbyter as follows:
"The grace of our Lord be with all of you."
The people are to say, "And with your spirit."
The priest is to say, "Let us also praise our Lord."
The people are to say, "It is right and just."
The priest is to say, "Let your hearts be fixed."
The people are to say, "We have them fixed with the Lord."

Concluding Praise

3715 "Lord, Father, giver of light, source of all strength and of all spirits, sealer of eternal lights and ruler of life, maker of all delights and of immortality. You allowed us to pass through material darkness; you gave us immaterial light; you dissolved the bonds of disobedience; you crowned us with the faith that is yours. Do not depart from your servants but continue to dwell with them. Do not neglect the souls that beseech you with labor and fear. You understand all things before we think of them; you search out all things before they are considered; you grant before we petition; you are pleased to hear those who most willingly serve you; you are king of the highest lights and of the heavenly armies; you hear the archangels giving glory to you; and you, Lord, take pleasure in them. Hear us, we ask you. We offer our praise to you so that we, your servants, upheld by you and guided by your light, might continually give glory to you, O Lord."

3716 People: "We praise you, we bless you, we confess you. And we beseech you, our God."

3717 Priest: "Lord Jesus, hear us. O Holy One, you were a voice for the dumb and the destitute, a support for the paralytics, a source of light for the blind, a guide for the lame, a source of purification for lepers, a healer of natural fluxes, a healer of the deaf, a rebuker of death, a tormentor of the darkness, a ray of light, an inextinguishable lamp,[51] the sun which does not know how to be extinguished[52] or made dim, but you always shine in your holy ones. You have established all things together as beautiful and embellished; you are the reason for order and proportion; you shine openly upon all; you are the savior of humankind and the one who converts souls. As is right, you show care for all; you created the angels; you adorned everything; you are the design of the Father. In prudence and wisdom you established and fixed the worlds; you were sent to us from your eternal Father; you are the mind of the Spirit which cannot be grasped or explained; you make known what is invisible; you are glorious, and wonderful is your name.[53] Therefore we, your servants, give you praise."

3718 People: "We praise you, we bless you, we confess you. And we beseech you, our God."

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51. See 2 Sam 21:17. 52. See Eccl 12:2; Isa 60:20. 53. See Isa 9:5.

Priest: "We sing to you this three-fold hymn of praise, for you are the 3719
holy Lord. You gave us a faith in you that cannot be weakened, a faith through which you grant us the power to conquer the bonds of death. You created right minds in those who trust in you so that they might become gods.[54] Through the Spirit may we trample underfoot the power of our enemy.[55] May we not violate the things that are inviolable. Through your mediation we can enjoy friendship with your Father. Lord, hear us, your servants. May we unceasingly pray to you that, at our bidding, you grant us power against our enemy. At all times we ask that the evil one be overthrown. O king, hear us always. Console widows. Assist the orphans. Be gracious to the energumens who are vexed by impure spirits; purify them. Teach the foolish. Correct the erring. Free those in prison. Watch over all of us because you, Lord, are our God, and your kingdom is blessed and glorious."

People: "Amen."

I.xxvii. Then the prayer is to conclude. Let the reader read the prophets 3720
and the other lessons. The gospel is to be read by a presbyter or a deacon. Next, the bishop or the presbyter is to teach what is fitting and useful. A prayer follows, with the catechumens then receiving the imposition of the hand.

I.xxviii. Afterwards, the bishop is to instruct the people on the things 3721
that are hidden. If the bishop is not present, a presbyter may do this so that the faithful might understand him whom they will approach, who is their God and Father.

Instruction on the mysteries is to be given in this manner.

The Mystagogia Given to the Faithful before the Sacrifice

"He who was, who is still with us, and who will come. It is he who suf- 3722
fered, was buried, rose, and was glorified by the Father.

"It is he who broke our fetters of death, who rose from the dead. He is 3723
not merely man but at the same time is God. Through the Holy Spirit he restored the flesh of Adam with his soul to immortality. [. . .]"

After the people have been given the mystagogia, the Eucharist is of- 3724
fered. Furthermore, the mystagogia does not take place every time but only at Easter, on Saturday, on the Lord's Day, and on the days of Epiphany and Pentecost.

I.xxix. How a presbyter is to be ordained[g] 3725

As was said above, all the people are to give witness concerning the 3726
man who will be ordained to the presbyterate, testifying that he is wise in what he has read, humble, poor, not avaricious, greatly involved in serving the sick, someone who is proven, pure and sinless, treating orphans as a father, ministering to the poor, not lazy in going to church, pious in all

g. See ApT 7 (WEC 1:629).

54. See Ps 82:6; John 10:34. 55. See Luke 10:19.

things, of mild temperament, so that he might be worthy to have what is appropriate and fitting revealed to him by God and also to be worthy of the gift of healing.

3727 I.xxx. The ordination of a presbyter takes place as follows. The whole presbyterate leading him, the bishop places his hand upon [the candidate's] head while the presbyters touch and hold him. The bishop is to speak as follows:

Prayer for the Imposition of the Hand upon the Priest

3728 "God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, you are ineffable; you are wonderful; you have neither beginning nor end.[56] Lord, you have arranged and fixed all things. By your design you have given order to your creation. Hear us. Look upon this your servant. Impart and give him the Spirit of grace, of wisdom, and of magnanimity, the Spirit of the presbyterate, the Spirit which does not grow old, which is not lacking, the Spirit that is homogenous, loving and correcting the faithful so that he might assist and govern your people by his labor, in fear, with a pure heart, in holiness, in graciousness, in wisdom and under the working of the Holy Spirit and by your providence, O Lord. In like manner when you looked upon your chosen people and commanded Moses to select elders[57] whom you filled with the Holy Spirit, whom you gave to your ministers, so now, Lord, grant to this man your unfailing Spirit which you gave to those whom you instructed and to all who truly believe in you[58] through them. Make him worthy, filled with your wisdom and your hidden mysteries. May he govern your people with the support of a pure and true heart while he gives glory, blesses, exalts, gives thanks, and offers praise at all times, day and night, to your holy and glorious name while he works with joy and patience to become a vessel of your Holy Spirit. At all times may he carry and bear the cross of your Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom glory and might be to you with the Holy Spirit forever and ever."

The people are to say, "Amen."

3729 The presbyters and then the people give him the peace with a holy kiss.[59]

3730 I.xxxi. After the presbyter has been ordained, he is to assiduously remain at the altar, making time for constant prayer. At times in a private home he may take respite from the things required of him in the Lord's house, and yet he is not to reduce the hours appointed for prayer.

3731 He is, however, to fast throughout the year, three days each week, on the one hand so that his mind be perfected; furthermore, he is to fast according to his ability so that he not be seized by any spirit but act to the fullest.

3732 The presbyter or bishop, if it is revealed that he should speak, will do so; but if not, he should not cease or despise what he is doing.

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56. See Heb 7:3; Rev 21:6; 22:13. 57. See Num 11:17–29. 58. See John 17:20. 59. See Rom 16:16.

If it is revealed to the presbyter that he should visit his parishes and 3733
speak there, he is to go; otherwise, he is to beseech God by his prayer. He is to say what has been revealed to him, always taking upon himself the burden of the one who was crucified for him and praying for people everywhere.

The presbyter or bishop is not to be concerned about food or clothing,[60] 3734
for God will provide him with what God knows he needs. If, when receiving food or clothing, someone tells him that he also should have received these from another, it is enough to have received from the first alone and only to the extent that what was received was necessary, certainly not excessive.

Let the presbyter always maintain himself as unwavering in what per- 3735
tains to the strictness of faith. This is what God requires. May the hearts of each one be searched. May evil not perhaps be hidden and buried within him so as to separate him from the grace of God.

May he not allow tares to grow amidst the good wheat, but he is to re- 3736
move them, and he is to cut back those who planted them. May darkness not obscure his light. May he at all times instruct the faithful so that they might complete the course, as it were, during the day[61] since the children of light are never to walk in the darkness.[62] May the presbyter's teaching be fitting, fruitful, and restrained, mixed with fear and trembling. The instruction given by the bishop is to be likewise. The bishop and presbyter in their teaching are not to speak of useless things but of those that their listeners can put into practice. [. . .]

The presbyter, as is right and fitting, should go to the homes of the sick 3737
together with a deacon and visit them. May he think and say whatever is fitting and useful for them, especially for the faithful. May he exhort that the sick, especially the poor, be assisted by the Church so that those who act generously might enter into the joy of the Lord.[63]

With the word of his teaching and with the eloquence of the prophets and 3738
of the Gospels he is to strengthen those who have recently been instructed.

May he not neglect his prayers, for his role is that of the archangels. 3739
Furthermore, may he be aware that God did "not spare the angels when they sinned."[64] [. . .]

The presbyter is to give thanks and praise in the same manner as the 3740
bishop.

I.xxxii. The presbyters are to give praise each day in the church, each at 3741
his own time and as follows:

Daily Hymn of Praise

Priest: "May the grace of our Lord be with all of you." 3742
People: "And with your spirit."

60. See Matt 6:25ff. 61. See Rom 13:13. 62. See John 8:12. 63. See Matt 25:21. 64. 2 Pet 2:4.

Priest: "Give praise to the Lord."
People: "It is right and just."

3743 Priest: "O Father of incorruptibility, we praise you. You free our souls; you strengthen our thoughts; you guard our hearts. You have enlightened our hearts, abolished the darkness of our thoughts through the knowledge that resides in you. Through the cross of your Only-Begotten you have renewed the old self which was handed over to corruption.[65] You restored incorruptibility. You removed error and through your commandments caused humankind to pass over to immortality. Yes, we are indeed your servants. We are indeed your people. As such we give you praise for you searched out what was lost."
People: "We praise you, etc."
Priest: "Lord, we praise you [. . .]"

3744 At midnight the presbyterate and the more perfect among the people are to give praise, for it was at midnight that our Lord, our risen Lord, praised the Father. [. . .]

Concerning Deacons[h]

3745 I.XXXIII. The one to be ordained a deacon is to be selected according to what was said before. His life is to be good and pure. He is to have been chosen because of his purity and because he abstained from what is unlawful. But if not, he should have had only one wife.[66] All the faithful are to give testimony about him; he should not be engaged in worldly affairs; his occupation should be no obstacle; he is not to be rich or to have children. If he already has a wife or children, then they are to be taught to be pious and to show themselves as pure, inasmuch as they should please the Church in his ministry. Furthermore, let the Church provide for them so that they too have time for the law and the work of ministry.

3746 I.XXXIV. May the deacon do in the Church whatever is fitting. His ministry should be as follows: first, he is to do exactly what the bishop asks to be done; he is also to be a counsellor of all the clergy and, as it were, the mystery [symbol] of the whole Church. He is to assist the sick and strangers, help widows, and be, as it were, a father to orphans. He is to go to the homes of the needy to see whether any are in distress or toil under hardship or adversity. May he visit the homes of the catechumens in order to strengthen those who are wavering and to instruct the ignorant. He is to clothe and do whatever is necessary for those who have died, and he is to provide a burial for strangers. May he be a leader for those who have left home or who have been sent into exile. May he inform the Church concerning those who are in need. He should not bother the bishop, but on Sunday only may he call things to the bishop's attention so that the bishop may be better informed about all matters.

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h. See ApT 8 (WEC 1:630–31, 633).
65. See Eph 4:22. 66. See 1 Tim 3:12.

He is to be vigilant at the time of the assembly, going through the church to see that no braggart be present, no joker, no curious individual, no liar. May he reprove such persons with everyone hearing and looking on. He should eject those who deserve punishment so that others may also be afraid. [. . .] 3747

In the church there are to be twelve presbyters, seven deacons, four subdeacons, and three widows who sit in front. [. . .] 3748

I.xxxv. May the deacon be, as it were, the eye of the Church in all things, informing the bishop with fear. He should also be an example of piety for the people. May he proclaim as follows: 3749

Admonition of the Deacon

"Let us rise. 3750
May each know their place.
May the catechumens depart.
See that no defiled or excommunicated person remains.
Lift up the eyes of your hearts.
The angels are watching.
See that unbelievers depart.
May we beseech with a harmony of minds.
May no fornicator, no angry person remain.
Should a servant of sin be present, may this person depart.
See to it that we make our petitions as children of the light.
Let us beseech the Lord, our God and Savior Jesus Christ."

When the presbyter or the bishop begins the prayer, the people kneel as they pray. 3751

The deacon is to say:

"For the peace that comes from heaven we pray: may the Lord in his graciousness grant us peace. 3752

For our faith we pray: may the Lord allow us to hold fast to the end our faith in him.

For unity and oneness of mind we pray: may the Lord grant to the end patience in all afflictions.

For the apostles we pray: may the Lord allow us to please him as they pleased him, and may he make us worthy of their inheritance.

For the holy prophets we pray: may the Lord count us among their number.

For the holy confessors we pray: may the Lord God allow us to finish our life with the same mind as theirs.

For the bishop we pray: may our Lord long preserve him in the faith that he might rightly break open the word of faith and preside over the Church in purity and without blame.

For the presbyters we pray: may the Lord not remove the priestly spirit from them; and may he grant them diligence and piety to the end.

For the deacons we pray: may the Lord allow them to live a perfect life, to attain holiness, and may he remember their labor and charity.

For the female presbyters[i] we pray: may the Lord hear their prayers and perfectly keep their hearts in the grace of the Spirit and assist them in their labors.

For subdeacons, lectors, and deaconesses we pray: may the Lord allow them to accept their reward in patience.

For the faithful we pray: may the Lord grant that they perfectly preserve the faith.

For the catechumens we pray: may the Lord grant that they be worthy of the bath of forgiveness, and may he sanctify them with the seal of holiness. [. . .]"

Then the bishop completes the prayer, and the people respond, "Amen."

3753 I.xxxvi. The deacon is to manifest fear of God, decency, modesty. As to fervor of life, let him do all things well.

3754 May the deacon pay special attention to those entering the church, inquiring as to who they are in order that he might determine whether they are lambs or sheep. After such an inquiry he is to bring in only those who are worthy so that a curious person not gain entrance, so that the liberty of the Church not be attacked, and that his sin not be on his head.

3755 Should anyone arrive late for the assembly, either when praise is being given at dawn or when the sacrifice is being offered, that person, no matter who he or she might be, is to remain outside. The deacon is not to allow such people to enter the church, for it is a figure of the future day of judgment; their entrance should not be a source of distraction for those who are at prayer. But when they come near and find the door closed,[67] late-comers, because of what I just said, are not to seek admittance.

3756 When the initial hymn of praise has ended, the faithful, whether they be male or female, may enter, and the deacon proclaims either "Over the offering" or "Over the hymn of praise" so that the Lord might inscribe our request in the book of life and that the eternal God might remember us in his holy dwelling of light.

3757 We ask that the Lord grant zeal and labor to any person who is tardy; also freedom from the bonds of this world, together with a desire for love, charity and hope.

3758 As to a sister or a deaconess who comes late and remains outside, let the deacon announce that all the people are to pray for her.

3759 When the deacon mentions and proclaims these, zeal is increased, the bond of love[68] is strengthened, and the negligent or the lazy are accused.

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i. Who were these "female priests" listed between the deacons and the subdeacons? Could they be "deaconesses"? See Canon 11 of the Council of Laodicea (WEC 2:1964).

67. See Matt 25:11–12. 68. See Col 3:14.

I.XXXVIII. A deacon is ordained as follows: the bishop alone places his hand upon him because the deacon is not ordained to the priesthood but to the ministry of serving the bishop and the Church. 3760

The bishop is to pray as follows over the deacon:

Prayer for Imposing the Hand upon the Deacon

"O God, through your Word you have created all things and adorned them. You rest in an indescribable world. Through your prophets you minister life eternal to us. With the light of knowledge you enlighten us. O God, you do great things[69] and are the source of all glory. O Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, whom you sent to carry out your will that the whole human race be set free, you have declared and shown to us your mind, your wisdom, your providence, your beloved Son Jesus Christ,[70] who is the lord of light, the king of kings, the God of gods. Send the Spirit of your grace and diligence upon this your servant so that he be given enthusiasm, rest, graciousness, and the strength to please you. Lord, make him a lawful and kind worker without shame, a lover of orphans and of those who practice piety, a lover of widows. Make him fervent in spirit,[71] a lover of all that is good.[72] Lord, enlighten him whom you have loved and chosen to minister to your Church. May he offer in your holy sanctuary what is offered to you from the inheritance of your high priesthood. In this way, exercising a ministry without blame, and doing so in a holy and pure manner and with a spotless mind, may he be made worthy of this great and exalted honor through your will, and may he praise you without end through your Son, the only-begotten Jesus Christ our Lord, through whom glory and might is given you forever." 3761

People: "Amen."

[On Confessors][j]

I.XXXIX. A man who testifies and confesses that he was in bonds and in prison and was tortured for the name of God is not to receive the imposition of the hand. He already enjoys the honor of being a cleric since through his confession he was protected by the hand of God. If, however, he is to be ordained a bishop, he is also worthy to receive the imposition of the hand. Now even if he is a confessor who nonetheless was not summoned to be judged by the authorities nor was placed in chains but only confessed his faith, he is worthy to have the hand imposed since he has received the prayer of the clergy. [. . .] 3762

On Widows[k]

I.XL. A woman selected as a widow is to have lived for some time without a husband. [. . .] She is to remain silent in church,[73] be persistent in 3763

j. See ApT 9 (WEC 1:634).

k. See ApT 10 (WEC 1:636).

69. See Job 9:10. 70. See Rom 15:6. 71. See Rom 12:11. 72. See Titus 1:8. 73. See 1 Tim 2:11–12.

prayer, and visit those women who are ill. On the Lord's Day she should take with her one or two deacons, and she is to help the sick women.

3764 I.XLI. A widow is appointed in this way. While she is praying at the entrance to the altar and is bowing her head, the bishop says the following in a low voice so that the priests are able to hear him:

Prayer for the Institution of Widows, Who Sit in Front

3765 "O God, you are the Holy One, the Most High; you look upon those who are humble; you have chosen both the weak[74] and the powerful; you are the honored one who also created the things that are despised. Lord, send the Spirit of your power upon this your servant and strengthen her with your truth. [. . .]"

3766 I.XLII. After being appointed a widow, she is not to be anxious for any reason. She is to remain alone and have time for performing works of piety. Solitude is the very foundation for a widow's holiness and life. May she love no other than the God of gods, the Father in heaven.

3767 She is to observe the appointed hours for praise, both at night and at dawn.

3768 If menstruous, she is to remain in the temple but not approach the altar, not that she is, as it were, defiled but because of the honor due the altar. Having fasted and washed herself, she may continue on at the altar. During the days of Pentecost she is not to fast; at Easter she should share her possessions with the poor, wash herself, and pray.

3769 When she gives thanks or praise and if she has like-minded friends who are virgins, it is best if they join her in prayer so that they might respond Amen. Otherwise, she is to pray alone, either in the church or at home but especially at midnight.

3770 The times when she must give praise are Saturday, Sunday, and either Easter or Epiphany or Pentecost. At other times she should humbly give thanks by means of the psalms, canticles, meditations, and so she should labor. [. . .]

Concerning the Subdeacon[1]

3771 I.XLIV. To be ordained to the subdiaconate is one who is chaste, with the bishop praying over him.

3772 On the Lord's Day, with all the people listening, the bishop is to say the following over him:

3773 "N., may you minister and hear the Gospel in the fear of God. Cultivate in holiness knowledge of yourself. Stay pure. Live in a disciplined fashion. Humbly observe, obey, and listen. Do not neglect to pray and fast so that the Lord might grant you contentment and make you worthy of a higher order."

All the priests are to say, "So be it, so be it, so be it."

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1. See ApT 13 (WEC 1:639).

74. See 1 Cor 1:27.

Concerning the Reader[m]

I.XLV. Appointed as a reader is one who is pure, quiet, humble, wise, highly experienced, learned, completely informed, having a good memory, and vigilant so that he might appropriately be raised to a higher order. First, on a Sunday may the book be presented to him in the presence of all the people. There is no imposition of the hand, but let him hear the following words of the bishop: 3774

"N., you have been called by Christ to be a minister of his words. Take care and strive that you appear approved[75] in observing this rule and in a higher degree, even by our Lord Jesus Christ so that in his lasting dwelling place he may best reward you for doing these things." 3775

And the priests are to say, "So be it, so be it, so be it. [. . .]"

The Second Book of Clement

Precepts, Canons, and Statutes

Which Our Lord Jesus Christ Prescribed concerning the Order of Baptism

Concerning the Laity[n]

II.I. Those who come in order to hear the word, before they enter the full assembly, are first led to those who teach at home. Here they are carefully examined as to their reason for coming. This is so the teachers might know the purpose of their coming and whether they did so willingly. Now if they came with good will and a true desire, they are to be carefully instructed. 3776

Those who bring them are to be mature, faithful, known to the Church; and they are to testify that those they bring are fit for hearing the word. 3777

Inquiry is to be made concerning how the candidates act and live, whether they are peaceful, quiet, humble, not speaking inane things, not contemptuous, not uttering evil things, not acting foolishly, not deceiving, not provoking ridicule. 3778

Let an inquiry be made as to whether they are married or not; if they of their own free will are not married, they are to be assiduously and carefully instructed and kindly urged to mend their ways. May the bishop take care in the Lord to instruct them by means of prophetic exhortations that lead them to purity. If they make progress, he should instruct them with apostolic teachings, and then with those of the Gospels, with the complete word of instruction. If deemed worthy, they are baptized, and if they are judged worthy to hear the hidden things, may they hear them individually, thus making progress in learning what is hidden. 3779

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m. See ApT 11 (WEC 1:637).

n. See ApT 15 (WEC 1:641).

75. See 2 Tim 2:15.

3780 No obstacle is to be placed in the way of those who desire to marry so that they not be entangled in fornication by Satan. May their spouses be Christians, from Christian families. [. . .]

3781 II.III. With all care the catechumens are to be instructed by hearing the Gospel, doing so for not less than three years. Should they desire and make a request to receive baptism before the appointed time, let them be baptized.

3782 As to those who are meek, humble, loving, assiduous, remaining with the one who is giving the instruction, doing so with zeal, with vigils, with confession, with subjection, and with prayers, and wish to be baptized immediately [before the completion of the three years], let them be baptized, for the space of time is not to be judged but the will to believe.[o]

3783 II.IV. After the instruction the catechumens are to pray apart from the faithful;[p] they depart so that the faithful may be able to learn at the time when the presbyter or the deacon reads the New Testament or the Gospels.

3784 The women among the faithful stand by themselves in the church; those who are catechumens stand apart from the women who are members of the faithful. Each group is separated from the men. The young women also stand apart, each according to order.

3785 The men stand on the right side, the women on the left. The virgins among the faithful are in front; behind them are those catechumens desiring to vow virginity.

3786 After the prayer the catechumens exchange the kiss of peace, men with men, women with women. [. . .]

3787 II.v. After the catechumens pray, the bishop or the presbyter imposes the hand upon them, and he says over them the prayer for the imposition of the hand.[q]

Prayer over the Catechumens

3788 "O God, you send the thunder and cause the lightning; you created the heavens and established the world. Shed light upon your faithful ones; convert the erring. You restored to life those who were dead; you gave hope to those without hope; you freed the world from error through the coming of your only-begotten Son Jesus Christ. Lord, hear us and give understanding to these souls; grant perfection, unwavering faith, knowledge of the truth. In this way may they ascend to a higher degree through your holy name and that of your beloved Son Jesus Christ through whom glory and might be to you with the Holy Spirit, now and forever and ever. Amen."

Once this is finished, they are dismissed.

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o. See ApT 17 (WEC 1:660).

p. See ApT 18 (WEC 1:661).

q. See ApT 19 (WEC 1:662).

Should any catechumens be apprehended because of my name and be 3789
sentenced to torture, they should hasten and press on to be baptized. The shepherd is not to hesitate in this matter but is to confer baptism. But if any are violently killed before receiving baptism, be not anxious about them since they were justified by being baptized in their own blood.

II.VI. May all those selected to be baptized be examined beforehand 3790
as to their way of life[r] while still under instruction, whether they have respected widows, visited the sick, walked in all humility and love,[76] whether they have shown themselves to be steadfast in doing good works.[77] Also to be presented is the testimony of those who brought them.

Each day, after hearing the Gospel, they are to receive the imposition of 3791
the hand.

From the day on which they were selected for baptism, they are to be 3792
exorcised. Let them be baptized on the day of the Pasch. When these days approach, the bishop is to exorcise each individually so that he might be persuaded that each is clean. Should it happen that someone is not clean or is possessed by an unclean spirit, that person is to be convicted by that impure spirit.

Those discovered to be restrained by such an impediment are to be re- 3793
moved from among the candidates, and since the evil and foreign spirit still dwells within, they should be reproached and censured for not having faithfully heard what was commanded and advised.

Those to be baptized are to be instructed to wash themselves and to 3794
cleanse their heads only on Thursday of the last week.

Should a woman be menstruous, she may also choose another day on 3795
which to bathe herself and wash beforehand.

They are to fast on Friday and on Saturday. 3796

II.VII. On Saturday the bishop is to gather together those who will be 3797
baptized and, as the deacon proclaims, he tells them to kneel. After a short period of silence he lays his hand on them and gives the exorcism.

Exorcism before Baptism

"O God of heaven, God of the stars,[78] God of the archangels who are 3798
subject to you, O God of the angels who are under your power, O king of glories and dominions,[79] O God of the holy ones, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ,[80] you have freed the souls that were confined by death. Through the nailing on the cross of your suffering and only-begotten Son you have enlightened those who were enclosed and pinned down by the darkness. You have broken our bonds and removed our burdens; you warded off from us Satan's hostile attack. O Son and Word of God, by your death you made us immortal, by your glory you glorified us, by your

r. See ApT 28 (WEC 1:664).

76. See Eph 5:2. 77. See Titus 2:14. 78. See Jas 1:17. 79. See Col 1:16. 80. See Rom 15:6.

passion you dissolved all the bonds of our sins, by your cross you bore the curse of our sins, and by your resurrection you taught that we pass from being human to being divine. You have taken upon yourself our misfortune. For us you have laid out the path to heaven, and from corruptibility to incorruptibility you changed us. Lord, hear me. To you I cry out with pain and fear. Lord God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ[81]—before whom stand the holy power of the archangels, the cherubim, the innumerable armies of princes and of seraphim—your veil is the light, and before your face the fire burns; the throne of your glory is ineffable, and ineffable are the dwellings of your delights which you have prepared for your holy ones, whose covering and riches are visible only to your holy angels. All things tremble before you. Together they praise you. Your glance measures out the mountains, and your name, when spoken, divides the depths. The heavens, contained in your hand, hide you. Before you the heavens and the earth tremble together; the sea and the animals within it are moved. The untamed beast, trembling, turns to you. Through you the mountains and the earth's firmament melt out of fear; due to your power the wind of winter trembles and quakes. Because of you the angry winds keep within their defined limits. [. . .] Lord, hear me and breathe the spirit of peace upon these your servants so that protected by you they may produce through you the gifts of faith, strength, wisdom, purity, self-discipline, patience, hope, unity, modesty, and praise because in the name of Jesus Christ you have called them to be your servants when they are baptized in the Trinity, in the name of the Father and Son and Holy Spirit, with as witnesses the angels, the glories, the dominions, and the whole heavenly army. Lord, as the foundation of our life and of theirs, guard their hearts, O God, because you are strong and wonderful forever."

All the people and priests are to say, "Amen. So be it. So be it. So be it."

3799 If while the bishop is performing the exorcism someone becomes excited, suddenly jumps up, and cries out, or shouts violently, or foams at the mouth, or gnashes the teeth, or shamelessly stares, or is lifted up or simply runs away, being quickly carried off, the deacons are to isolate such a person so that there be no commotion while the bishop is speaking. Those acting in this way are to be exorcised by the priests till they are made clean; then they are baptized.

3800 After the priest has exorcised those who were brought near or who were found to be unclean, he is to breathe upon them, sign them on the forehead, on the nose, on the chest, on the ears, and so may he raise them up.

3801 II.VIII. During the forty days of the Pasch the people are to remain in the temple, keeping vigil, praying, listening to the Scriptures, to hymns, and to doctrinal instruction.

81. Ibid.

On the last Saturday the faithful are to rise early in the night when the catechumens are being exorcised, till the middle of the night on the same Saturday. 3802

The baptismal candidates are to bring nothing with them other than one loaf of bread for the Eucharist.[s] 3803

This is how they are to be baptized when they approach the water, which should be pure and flowing;[t] first the children, then the men, and then the women. 3804

If anyone wishes to make a vow of virginity to God, this person is the first to be baptized by the bishop. 3805

Women are to loosen their hair for baptism. 3806

All the children who can respond while being baptized do so, repeating the words after the priest; but if they are unable to do this, then their parents or some family member reply on their behalf. 3807

When after their response those to be baptized go down into the water, the bishop is to see to it that no man is wearing a ring, that no woman has a gold ornament on her, for no one is to have any foreign object on him or her while in the water; such is to be handed over to those standing close-by. 3808

When the candidates are about to be signed with the oil for the anointing, the bishop is to pray over the oil and give thanks. He is also to exorcise another oil for the catechumens. A deacon carries the exorcised oil, with a presbyter standing near him. Whoever stands near the oil over which praise has been given is to be on the right; whoever stands near the oil that has been exorcised is to be on the left. 3809

When the bishop takes hold of each of those to be baptized—they are facing the west—the bishop says, "You are to say 'I renounce you, Satan, all your service, all your pretexts, all your desires, all your works,'" and after the candidate has said and professed this, he or she is to be anointed with the oil of exorcism while the bishop who does the anointing says, "I anoint you with this oil so that you be free from every evil and impure spirit, that you be free from all evil." 3810

The bishop turns the candidate toward the east and says, "You are to say 'I submit to you, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, before whom all nature trembles and quakes; grant that I might without sin do all that you desire.'" 3811

The bishop is then to hand over this person to the presbyter who baptizes. 3812

Those to be baptized stand naked in the water. A deacon is to descend in like manner with these candidates. 3813

And when those to be baptized have gone down into the water, the one baptizing places his hand upon each of them and says, "Do you believe in 3814

s. See ApT 20 (WEC 1:670).

t. See ApT 21 (WEC 1:671).

God, the almighty Father?" and the person to be baptized says, "I do believe." Immediately each is baptized a first time. Then the priest says, "Do you believe in Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who came from the Father, who from the beginning is with the Father, who through the Holy Spirit was born of the Virgin Mary, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, who died, who rose from the dead with new life on the third day, who ascended into heaven, who sits at the right hand of the Father, and who will come to judge the living and the dead?" The candidate, having responded "I do believe," is then baptized a second time. Then the one baptizing is to say, "Do you believe in the Holy Spirit, in the Holy Church?" and the candidate, having responded "I do believe," is baptized a third time.

3815 When the newly-baptized come up out of the water, they are anointed by the presbyter with the oil over which the thanksgiving was given. He says, "I anoint you with oil in the name of Jesus Christ."

3816 Women are to be anointed by the widows who sit in the front during the gathering, doing so while the presbyter recites over them the formula. These widows during the baptism, under a veil, are to receive them with a veil while the bishop says the profession and also the things that are renounced.

3817 II.IX. When they have again gathered in the church, the bishop imposes his hand upon each of them and says the following:

Invocation of the Holy Spirit

3818 "Lord God, through your beloved Son Jesus Christ you filled your holy apostles with your Holy Spirit. Through this same Spirit you allowed your holy prophets to speak. You made these your servants worthy to merit through Christ the forgiveness of sins through the washing of regeneration, and you washed away from them all mist of error and the darkness of infidelity. Through your goodness make them worthy to be filled with your Holy Spirit. Grant them your grace so that, O God, they might truly serve you according to your will. In holiness may they fulfill your commands so that, at all times doing the things that please you, they might enter your eternal tabernacles through you and through your beloved Son Jesus Christ, through whom glory and might forever be to you with the Holy Spirit."

3819 Likewise the bishop, pouring the oil and placing his hand upon the head of the recently baptized, says, "Anointing, I anoint you in the all-powerful God, in Christ Jesus, and in the Holy Spirit, so that you be a worker having perfect faith and a vessel pleasing to him." Signing the person on the forehead, the bishop gives him or her the peace, saying, "May the God of the humble be with you." The person who is signed responds, "And with your spirit." This the bishop does for each individual.

3820 II.X. Henceforth the recently baptized are to pray with the whole assembly.

3821 The deacon is to bring the offering to the bishop who gives thanks.

The bread is offered as a type of my body, the cup is to be mixed with wine—wine mixed with water—for it signifies the blood and the water of the washing so that the interior person, which is spiritual, might merit those things which are similar to it, namely, things of the body also. All, in accord with what has just been said, receive of the Eucharist which is offered, saying, "Amen." The deacons hover over the offerings as already mentioned. And, as was noted earlier, whoever distributes Communion is to say, "The Body of Jesus Christ, the Holy Spirit, unto a cure of soul and body." The person who receives says, "Amen." 3822

Those who spill the Blood from the cup prepare judgment for themselves; likewise those who see this and say nothing, giving no reproof no matter who does this. 3823

Those receiving the Eucharist from the priests are to be exhorted to do good, to love strangers, to be zealous in fasting, and to do every good work. 3824

May they also be instructed on the teaching of the resurrection of the body, something concerning which they are to know nothing before being baptized. This is a new decree, having a new name, which none know about till they receive. 3825

The deacon does not give Communion to the presbyter, but he is to uncover the paten or pyx from which the presbyter is to take [the Eucharist].[u] 3826

The deacon is to give the Eucharist to the people by [in?] the hand. 3827

If a presbyter is not present and necessity requires, the deacon may baptize. 3828

II.XI. If anyone has received any gift to take to a widow or to a poor woman or to anyone else who is regularly engaged in affairs of the Church, the gift is to be given on the same day; but if the gift is withheld till the next day, then let something of a person's own be added before giving it since bread for the poor has been delayed.[v] 3829

On Thursday of the last week of the Pasch the bread and the cup are to be offered. [. . .] 3830

The deacon is to offer the lamp in the temple, saying, "May the grace of the Lord be with all of you," and the people respond, "And with your spirit."[w] 3831

The young children sing spiritual psalms and canticles for the lighting of the lamp. With one voice all the people respond, "Alleluia." No one kneels till the person who is speaking has concluded. The same is true for a reading or when a doctrinal instruction has been given. [. . .] 3832

II.XII. The Pasch is to be completed at midnight, after Saturday. 3833

No one is to fast or kneel during Pentecost since these are days of rest and joy. 3834

u. See ApT 22 (WEC 1:690).

v. See ApT 24 (WEC 1:694).

w. See ApT 25 (WEC 1:695).

3835 Those doing heavy labor are to relax somewhat during the days of Pentecost and on every Lord's Day.

3836 Before offering the sacrifice the bishop is to say whatever is appropriate for the offering, whereas those dressed in white exchange the "Alleluia" with each other.

3837 II.XIII. At supper or at a feast those who have come together receive a portion from the shepherd as for a blessing.[x] A catechumen, however, is not to receive. [. . .]

3838 II.XIV. Whoever wishes to offer fruits or the first produce of the crop is to give them to the bishop. [. . .]

3839 II.XVI. This is how the bishop is to bless the fruits that have been presented to him.[y]

3840 "O God, we thank you at all times and on this day when we offer you the first fruits which you have given to us as food, and which you have made perfect by your power and word. At the world's beginning you commanded that the earth bring forth various fruits for our joy and delight and for that of all the animals. Lord, we praise you for all the things with which you have favored us when you adorned the earth with various fruits for our benefit. Bless also N., your servant, whose good will and love we ask you to accept through your only-begotten Son Jesus Christ through whom glory, honor, and might be to you, with the Holy Spirit forever and ever. Amen."

3841 Vegetables are not blessed, only the fruits of trees, flowers, roses, and lilies.[z] [. . .]

3842 II.XVIII. During the Pasch, especially on its last days, namely, on Friday and Saturday, both during the day and at night there are to be as many prayers as there are canticles. Speech should be extended; the readings are to be various and numerous. The nocturnal vigils and anticipations are to be carried out in good order.

3843 II.XIX. As to the deacons who pass among the women, the readers should assist them so that no disorderly children be found there. The subdeacons are also to do this. The children are not allowed to fall asleep since in a special way the night that follows Saturday is an image of the heavenly kingdom.

3844 Those who labor and work may do so till midnight.

3845 First the catechumens are dismissed, being blessed with the broken bread.

3846 The faithful, when they are sent forth, return to their homes in an orderly and discreet fashion; they are not to omit their prayers while there.

3847 Priests are not to abandon their ministries.

3848 The women are to depart, each going to her own husband.

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x. See ApT 25 (WEC 1:698).

y. See ApT 31 (WEC 1:708).

z. See ApT 32 (WEC 1:709).

Widows are to remain in the temple till morning, taking their food there. 3849

Virgins are likewise to remain in the temple, and the bishop is to help and provide for them; the deacons are to minister to them. The presbyters remain with the bishop till morning, praying and resting. 3850

Likewise the recently baptized. 3851

May the virgins who can marry accompany their mothers in going home. 3852

II.xx. The bishop is to announce that no one is to taste anything till the sacrifice has been completed and till the whole body of the Church has received the new food. 3853

Then in the evening those to be baptized are baptized after the first reading. 3854

Those who have eaten before receiving eucharistic Communion are guilty and receive no merit for fasting. 3855

When the catechumens are dismissed, a hand is to be imposed on them. 3856

Should any of the faithful remain at home because of sickness, the deacon is to bring the sacrifice [the Eucharist] to them. 3857

If a presbyter is unable to come to church, then another presbyter is to bring him Communion. 3858

If a pregnant woman becomes sick and is unable to observe the fast on these two days, she is to fast on one day and then on the other day she is to take bread and water. If she cannot come to church, the deaconess is to bring her Communion. 3859

II.xxi. Those who are sick should see to it that the bishop knows about their condition so that he might visit them; a sick person, especially when he or she is a member of the faithful, is greatly comforted when remembered by the high priest. 3860

II.xxii. The virgins and the children are to respond in song to him who sings psalms in the church. 3861

If two or three sing psalms privately at home, they may respond in psalmody to each other. Likewise the men. 3862

II.xxiii. If a poor person should die, those in charge of providing things for all are to clothe the body.[aa] 3863

If a stranger should die, namely, a stranger who does not have a burial place, then those who own such places are to provide this; if the Church has such a place, the Church should provide it. 3864

If a stranger who dies lacks a funeral garment, the Church is to supply it. And if he or she does not have what is necessary for burial, the Church is to supply this. [. . .] 3865

II.xxiv. The people are to take care that they immediately pray at early dawn, rising from bed and washing their hands. In this way each person heads off to work as desired. 3866

aa. See ApT 40 (WEC 1:718).

3867 At the third hour all are to pray with sorrow and zeal, either in church or, if they cannot go to church, at home. This is the hour at which the Only-Begotten was placed on the cross.

3868 Likewise there is to be prayer with sorrow at the sixth hour since this is when the day was divided by the darkness. And so let there be that voice which imitates the prophets and which imitates creation, mourning.

3869 At the ninth hour prayer is to be prolonged with praise; it should be akin to that of the souls of those praising the God who does not lie, who remembers his holy ones, and who sent his Word and his Wisdom to enlighten these. It was at this very hour that life was extended to the faithful, the hour when blood and water flowed forth from the side of Christ.

3870 In the evening, namely, the beginning of another day, and giving us an image of the final resurrection, he has us praise him.

3871 At midnight the people are to praise and glorify God because of the Lord's resurrection.

3872 At dawn they are to give praise by singing the psalms because after the resurrection Christ praised the Father while the apostles were singing psalms.

3873 Should a man, a member of the faithful, have a wife or spouse who is not faithful, he is to go and pray at these hours.

3874 Those who are chaste [virgins?] are not to reduce the number of hours for prayer; praising God are the ornaments of heaven, the lights, the sun, the moon, the stars, the lightning, the thunder, the clouds, the angels, the archangels, the glories, the dominions, the whole heavenly army, the depths, the seas, the rivers, the pools, fire, dew and all nature that brings forth the rain. All the holy ones also give praise as do all the souls of the just.

3875 Those who pray in this manner are counted among those remembered by God.

3876 II.xxv. [. . .] The faithful are always to take care that before sharing in the Eucharist they take no food; in this way nothing can harm them. [. . .]

PERSIA

143. MĀRŪTĀ OF MAIPHERQAT

Bishop of Maipherqat (located near the Armenian and Syrian border), Mārūtā is especially known—according to tradition—for having brought to his see the relics of a large number of martyrs killed during the persecution of Shapur II, thus the name of Maipherqat being changed to Martyropolis. He was present at the influential synod of Seleucia-Ctesiphon in Persia (410) and apparently died before 420. This Mārūtā is often confused with Mārūtā the Monophysite bishop of Tagrit (Tikrit), who died in 649.

Bardenhewer (1913) 4:391–92 * Tixeront 220–21 * CE 9:748 * DCB 3:859 * DPAC 2:2157–59 * DTC 10.1:143–49 * EC 8:261–62 * EEC 1:537 * EEChr 2:732–33 * LTK 6:1448 * NCE 9:333 * PEA (1894) 14.2:2054–56 * PEA (1991) 7:968–69

143-A. The Seventy-Three Canons[†]

Tradition has long attributed these canons to Mārūtā, although various theories have been postulated as to their general origin and precise relationship to the synod of Seleucia-Ctesiphon. Later material has apparently been incorporated into the text.

Canon 71. It is the will of the general synod that they should genuflect at all [appropriate] times during the service. The genuflection shall be from the ninth hour of the Pentecost Sunday and up to the service of the night of the *'arūbtā* of the Passion[a]—when the Saturday of the Gospel shines forth.[b] 3877

But on Sundays and on the festivals there shall be no genuflection since the holy church has joy and exaltation. For genuflecting proclaims suffering and grief. Therefore it is right that we do not genuflect during the festivals and particularly on the day of the Resurrection of Christ our Savior. [. . .] 3878

Canon 72. It is the will of the general synod that wherever an assembly gathers of the covenant of the brothers and the sisters and the order of believing men and women, the sacrifice shall not be offered rashly, simply as may happen, but [only] after the Holy Scriptures first are read and [then in sequence] one [item] after the other until the entire [liturgical] order is perfected. 3879

In the same way as we have determined above in the canon a presbyter ought not to stand at the altar without the deacon and offer the sacrifice. However, we do not enslave the priests to the deacons; rather do we divide the honor to the service of the altar in order that the service shall be performed nobly. 3880

The deacon shall be an exhorter of the people through proclamation.[c] 3881

But those who are accustomed [to assemble] in the anchorite and monastic manner and [so] serve, and where no gathering of the lay people takes place as [a matter] of necessity, it shall [not] hear of the powers of the holy mysteries from the mouth of a deacon. About these [matters] we do not have any law. So as they wish they may serve. [. . .] 3882

Canon 73. [. . .] It is the will of the general synod that if there are commemorations in the churches and the martyria and in the monasteries and [anything of] the consecrated [elements] is left over, this must be honored through the taking [of them] on the next day after it. 3883

[This must be received] by the clerics of prudence, [namely] by priests and brothers who have not yet received the sacrifice. 3884

[†] Translation from *The Canons Ascribed to Mārūtā of Maipherqat and Related Sources*, vol. 2, ed. A. Vööbus, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 440, Scriptores Syri 192 (Louvain, 1982) 94–95.

a. Namely, Friday.

b. Namely, the Easter Vigil during Saturday night.

c. Namely, by leading the litany.

3885 The sacrifice which has remained shall.be divided among them and they shall each take something once it comes to each of them—whether much or whether little; the synod does not permit anyone to take the sacrifice a second time, one after another.

3886 But if by reason of negligence a mistake takes place, and there is someone whose conscience is troubled, let him honor the sacrament by receiving it.

3887 If there is not [one to receive it]—so shall it be hidden in a place of honor which is not cultivated.

3888 The synod does not permit it to be burned in fire, for this is audacity and even a great sin, [in like manner as in the case] of the bodies of the holy men [where] we also do not have the custom of honoring them through burning in fire but rather in honor conceal them under the earth.

PALESTINE

144. SOZOMEN

Sozomen (*Salmaninus Hermia Sozomenus*) was probably a native of Bethelia near Gaza in Palestine. Educated in a monastic milieu, he journeyed to Italy and eventually settled in Constantinople, where his profession was that of a lawyer. The dates of his birth and death are unknown, though the latter probably occurred toward the middle of the fifth century.

CPG 3: no. 6030 * Altaner (1961) 274 * Altaner (1966) 227 * Bardenhewer (1908) 378–79 * Bardenhewer (1910) 270 * Bardenhewer (1913) 3:141–44 * Bautz 10:860–63 * Hamell 123 * Jurgens 3:252–53 * Quasten 3:534–36 * Steidle 255 * Tixeront 181 * CATH 14:351–52 * CE 14:165–66 * DCB 4:722–23 * DPAC 2:3261–63 * DTC 14.2: 2469–71 * EC 11:1016–17 * EEC 2:790 * EEChr 2:1081–82 * LTK 9:801–2 * NCE 13:489 * NCES 13:372–73 * ODCC 1525 * PEA (1894) 3.1 (n.s.) 1240–48 * PEA (1991) 11:773

144-A. Church History[†]

The nine books (parts of Book IX are missing) of this history, written between 439 and 450, cover the years 324 to 425. This is the author's second historical account, the first, now lost, spanning the years from Christ's ascension to the fall of Licinius in 323. Among Sozomen's source material was the history written by Eusebius of Caesarea (WEC 2:81), often quoted verbatim without acknowledgement (today called plagiarism). Legendary elements are not excluded from this narrative.

3889 I.VIII. Once the Roman empire had passed into Constantine's hands, he issued a public edict to the citizens of the East commanding them to

[†] Translated from *Histoire ecclésiastique. Sozomène*, vol. 1, trans. and ed. A.-J. Festugière and G. Sabbah, SChr 306 (Paris, 1983) 138ff. (Books I–III); PG 67:1275ff. (Books V–VIII).

follow the practices of the Christian religion. [. . .] Christians assumed most of the Roman magistrate offices; all were henceforth forbidden to offer sacrifices, to have recourse to oracles or pagan initiation rites, to dedicate statues to the gods and to celebrate pagan feasts. [. . .]

As to places of prayer, Constantine ordered the restoration of churches 3890
that were sufficiently large; others were wonderfully increased in length and height; elsewhere new buildings were constructed where previously none existed. The emperor furnished money from the imperial treasury. Writing to the bishop of each city and to the provincial governors, he asked them to contribute whatever they wished. [. . .]

So as to accustom the soldiers to reverence God as he did, Constantine 3891
had the symbol of the cross placed upon their weapons. A chapel was built within the palace, and when Constantine set out for war, he had a tent, made in the form of a cross, carried before him so that even in obscure places neither he nor his army would lack a holy house within which they might sing hymns to God, pray, and participate in the mysteries. Priests and deacons followed the tent. Like servants they carried out the offices according to the rule of the Church. Also from this time each of the Roman legions, today known as regiments, builds its own tent to which are assigned priests and deacons. As to the day called the Lord's Day—known as the first day of the week by the Jews, the day consecrated by the pagans to the sun, and also known as the day before the seventh day— he determined by law that on this day there henceforth be no judicial or other business and that prayers and supplications be offered to God. He honored the Lord's Day as the day on which Christ was raised from the dead, the day before the seventh day being the day on which Christ was crucified. [. . .]

III.XIV. [. . .] On the first and last days of the week the monks[a] were to 3892
approach the altar to share in the holy mysteries; loosening their girdles and removing their garments made of skin, they were to pray twelve times during the day as well as during the evening, and then likewise during the night; they were also to pray three times at the ninth hour. At meals they were to sing a psalm before each prayer. [. . .]

III.XVI. I am not unaware that some very learned men once lived in 3893
Osrhoene:[b] for example, Bardesanes,[c] who began the heresy bearing his name, and his son Harmonios. The latter, they say, was educated in the Greek disciplines and was the first to introduce musical meters and modes into the language of his father and delivered this to choirs. Still today the Syrians often sing his songs, using not the words of Harmonios but his melodies. Harmonios was not completely sheltered from the heresy of

a. Namely, the followers of Pachomius (ca. 290–346), founder of Egyptian monasticism.

b. Osrhoene: kingdom in eastern Syria with Edessa as its capital.

c. Bardesanes (154–222): Syrian hymn writer, generally considered a heretic.

his father nor from the teachings of the Greek philosophers on the soul, on the beginning and ending of the body, and on the reincarnation since, when setting his words to music, he mixed these doctrines with his own writings. Ephrem[d] saw how the Syrians were seduced by the beauty of the words and by the rhythm of the melody. And so, accustomed to think like Harmonios and even though he was not acquainted with Greek culture, Ephrem learned the meters of Harmonios and composed his own texts, which were in conformity with the doctrine of the Church. These were used for holy hymns and songs in praise of the saints. Since that time the Syrians sing the music composed by Harmonios but the words of Ephrem.

3894 III.xx. [. . .] Although the followers of Eustathius[e] were in charge of all the churches in Antioch, most of the clergy and people did not fully follow their doctrines. They sang hymns to God in the choirs into which they customarily grouped themselves. At the end of these hymns personal preference was evident: some praised "the Father and the Son" with equal honor; others praised "the Father in the Son," thus showing by the insertion of the preposition "in" that the Son was inferior.

3895 Under such circumstances Leontius,[f] who at that time belonged to the opposite group, governed the see of Antioch. He did not attempt to hinder those who were praising God according to the tradition of the Council of Nicaea, for he feared fomenting an insurrection of the people. But it is related that he once touched his head, which was filled with white hairs, and said, "When this snow melts, there will be only mud," suggesting that after his death disagreement in hymn-singing would result in sedition since his successors would not, unlike himself, accommodate themselves to the people.

3896 V.xix. [. . .] Since many bodies were buried at Daphne,[g] the Emperor Julian,[h] believing that opposition to the oracles was solely due to Babylas[i] the martyr, commanded that the martyr's coffin be moved. And so the Christians, gathering in that place, carried the martyr's coffin into the city, approximately forty stadia distant, to the place where it is still located and which is named after him. It is said that the men and women, the youth and maidens, the elderly and the young—all who carried the martyr's coffin, encouraged one another, singing psalms throughout the whole journey. Apparently they sang to ease the burden of walking but in reality because they were motivated by a certain zeal and spirit of godliness, something not shared by the emperor. The most experienced singers of the psalms sang first, and the whole group responded in harmony with this

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d. Ephraem the Syrian (ca. 306–73): Syrian exegete and hymn writer (WEC 2:**76**).

e. Eustathius (ca. 300–ca. 380): bishop of Sebastie in Armenia.

f. Leontius: bishop of Antioch 344–?

g. Daphne: a suburb of Antioch.

h. Julian ("the Apostate") (*Flavius Iulianus Augustus*): Roman emperor 361–63.

i. Babylas: bishop of Antioch and martyr (d. ca. 250).

verse, "All who worship graven images, all who glory in idols, are thrown into disorder."

VI.XXIV. [. . .] Following the death of Auxentius[j] there was a great 3897
uprising of the people since there was no universal agreement as to the selection of a bishop for the church at Milan; the whole city was in the utmost peril. As usually happens, threats were made by those desiring this office and yet not obtaining it. Ambrose, at that time governor of the province, feared an insurrection of the people. So he went to the church and exhorted the people to cease their strife. He had them remember their laws and how pleasing are the mutual harmony and good that come from peace. Hardly had he finished speaking when all suddenly overcame their desire for disputation and voted that Ambrose become the bishop. Since he had not yet been initiated, they urged him to be baptized. They also requested that he be ordained. But when Ambrose protested and would have nothing to do with the priesthood, the people continued to insist. They stated that they would only be pleased if he yielded to their desires. The matter was referred to the court. It is said that the emperor Valentinian,[k] hearing about this, prayed to God, giving thanks that the man he had appointed governor was selected to fill the priestly office. When Valentinian learned of the strong desire of the people and of Ambrose's refusal, he inferred that God arranged this to promote the harmony of the church in Milan and ordered that Ambrose be immediately made a bishop. Baptized and ordained in the same ceremony, Ambrose immediately brought the church in Milan, a church which under Auxentius was so long plagued by division, into divine harmony.[l] [. . .]

About this time the Novatians[m] residing in Phrygia[n] began to cele- 3898
brate—contrary to ancient custom—the Pasch on the same day as the Jews. Novatian, the founder of this group, refused to admit to communion those doing penance; and it was only in regard to this that he was an innovator. Novatian and his successors, following the custom of the Roman church, celebrated the feast of the Pasch after the vernal equinox. About this time some Novatian bishops throughout Phrygia gathered in the town of Pazo near the headwaters of the river Sangarius.[o] Having no desire to be in communion with those from whom they dissented, they

j. Auxentius: Arian bishop of Milan 355–74.

k. Valentinian: Roman emperor in the West 364–75.

l. This is also reported by Theodoret of Cyr, *Church History* IV.VI (WEC 3:3516–17), and by Socrates, *Church History* IV.*xxx* (WEC 3:3224).

m. Novatians: members of a highly rigorist yet orthodox Christian community whose name is taken from the Roman cleric Novatian (d. 257/258), who, disappointed with the election of Cornelius in 251, joined this community, had himself ordained bishop, and became a rival of Cornelius.

n. Phrygia: a region located in northern Asia Minor.

o. Sangarius: a river in Asia Minor flowing into the Black Sea.

established their own rule, namely, to observe the feast of the unleavened bread and to celebrate the Pasch with the Jews.[p] [. . .]

3899 VI.xxv. At about the same time Apollinaris[q] openly initiated the heresy bearing his name. [. . .] In addition to the holy hymns that are customarily sung in church, the people sang certain metrical songs written by Apollinaris, who in addition to his outstanding learning was a poet, skilled in songs of all kinds. By their pleasing quality these songs persuaded many to follow him. Whether feasting or working, men sang them; also women while weaving. Whether sung at work or at leisure, whether on feasts or other days, these songs were composed for the praise of God. [. . .]

3900 VI.xxvi. [. . .] Some say that Eunomius[r] was the first to assert that holy baptism is given by one immersion only, thus corrupting the apostolic tradition which till then was universally observed; it is said that he invented a procedure different from that of the Church. [. . .] Others say—and, as I believe, more correctly so—that Theophronius of Cappadocia[s] and Eutychius, both ardent defenders of this heresy, withdrew from communion with Eunomius during the reign of the following emperor and innovated concerning divine baptism and the other doctrines of Eunomius. According to them, baptism is to be given in the name of Christ, not in that of the Trinity. [. . .] Whether it was Eunomius or someone else who first innovated concerning the tradition of baptism, I believe that those who did so were, according to this line of thinking, alone in danger of departing this life without having been baptized, for after being baptized according to the custom received from the beginning, it was impossible for them to rebaptize themselves, and so we must admit that they introduced a practice to which they themselves had not submitted and that they gave to others what was not given them either by themselves or by others. [. . .] They admit that the unbaptized cannot baptize others. Whoever was not baptized according to the rite given by their tradition remains unbaptized as someone who was not rightly signed. They show this by rebaptizing those whom they are able to attract to their side even though these have been baptized according to the tradition of the Catholic Church. Teachings like this do no small harm to our Christian religion. [. . .]

3901 VII.xvi. At about this time Nectarius,[t] the bishop of Constantinople, was the first to remove from the Church the office of the priest in charge of penitents. Almost all the bishops later on followed his example. What this

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p. Also related by Socrates, *Church History* IV.xxviii (WEC 3:3220, 3223).

q. Apollinaris (ca. 310–ca. 390): bishop of Laodicea whose christological teaching, which implied that Christ's manhood was not complete, was condemned by the Council of Constantinople in 381.

r. Eunomius (d. 394): Arian bishop of Cyzicus in Mysia (in northwestern Asia Minor).

s. Cappadocia: a district in eastern Asia Minor.

t. Nectarius: bishop of Constantinople 381–97.

office involved, what was its origin, and the reason behind it, others have related. I will tell you what I know. Sinlessness belongs to the divine nature alone; it does not belong to human nature. God commanded that pardon be granted to penitents even if they fall frequently; and when seeking pardon, it is necessary that the sin be confessed. From the beginning it probably seemed burdensome to the priests to have this public confession with almost all the members of the Church in attendance. And so one of the priests was appointed, a most holy and assuredly prudent man, to preside in such cases. Sinners went to him and acknowledged their sins. He indicated a penance appropriate to each one's sin. Once this was done, he granted forgiveness. Since the practice of penance did not exist among the Novatians, they did not have this office. Among other religious groups, however, this custom continued to exist. In the churches of the West and especially in the Roman church it is diligently observed. For in Rome there is an open space for the penitents. It is there that they stand and, as it were, lament till the solemnities of the Mass have been completed; they are excluded from sharing in the sacred mysteries. With groans and lamentations they fling themselves down upon the ground. Then the bishop, in tears, also falls upon the ground. All the people likewise confess and weep. The first bishop then stands, raises up those who are prostrate, and, as is fitting, by prayer offers forgiveness to those doing penance. Each person is commanded to do penance voluntarily and in private, by fasting, by not bathing, by abstaining from meat or from other things. When the appointed day arrives, the sinner, as if a certain debt has been removed, is freed from the penalty assigned to the serious sin that was committed and is reunited to the rest of the people in the Church. All this the bishops of the city of Rome have observed from antiquity down to the present day.

3902 As to the church at Constantinople, a priest was appointed to be in charge of the penitents. A certain noble lady, because of a sin she had confessed, was ordered to fast and to make supplication to God. For this reason she was lingering in the church, and it was here that a deacon raped her. When the people became aware of this, they became very angry because of the insult afflicted on the Church. Especially those in orders were highly scandalized.

3903 Nectarius, hesitating for a long time as to what he would do, deposed the deacon, who admitted the evil deed. Some advised Nectarius that each person should consult his or her own conscience before sharing in the holy mysteries. As a result he abolished the office of the presbyter in charge of penitents. From that time on this remained the case. It seems to me that what in antiquity was weighty and severe soon became something that was lax and loose. Formerly people were restrained from sinning because they feared confessing their sins and revealing them to a judge.[u]

u. Also related by Socrates, *Church History* V.xix (WEC 3:3225–26).

3904 I also believe that it was for similar reasons that Theodosius[v] the emperor, ever zealous in promoting the honor of the Church, ruled that women should not be admitted to ministry unless they are mothers and are at least sixty years of age, as the Apostle Paul required. [. . .]

3905 VII.XVIII. During the same reign a division occurred among the Novatians as to the time for celebrating the feast of the Pasch. This resulted in another group, that of the Sabbatians. Sabbatius, who with Theoctistus and Mascarius, was ordained a presbyter by Marcian, followed the decision of those who during the reign of Valens[w] gathered at Pazo where they stated that the feast of the Pasch should be celebrated on the same day when the Jews celebrate it. After leaving the Church—initially to follow a more austere way of life, for this is what he was professing to live—he also pretended that one reason for leaving was that some received Communion unworthily. However, when Marcian's desire to innovate was discovered, he was questioned as to why he ordained Sabbatius. It is said that he repeatedly replied that he would have preferred to lay his hands upon thorns rather than upon the head of Sabbatius. Now when he saw that the people of the Church were being divided into two parts, Marcian gathered the bishops of his group at Sangorus, a town located in Bithynia,[x] situated near the sea not far from Helenopolis.[y] The bishops who gathered there summoned Sabbatius and ordered him to state the reason for his discontent. When he complained that diversity existed regarding the date of the feast's celebration, the bishops suspected that this was just a pretext to conceal his desire to be made a bishop. And so they made him take an oath that he would never accept the episcopal office. Once he had sworn to this, the bishops agreed that diversity was not a fitting reason for communion to be broken and that each bishop could observe the date as he so desired. They drafted a canon in this regard, which they called the *adiaphoron* ("indifferent"). This is what occurred during the gathering at Sangorus.[z]

3906 From that time on, Sabbatius followed Jewish practice unless it happened that all observed the Pasch at the same time; when this happened, he fasted as was customary but did so earlier, and privately observed the Jewish law. On Saturday from evening to the prescribed time he kept vigil and said the accustomed prayers; on the following day he together with all the others gathered in church and took part in the sacred mysteries. At first most did not notice this, but with the passing of time it attracted attention. Many imitated him, especially in Phrygia and Galatia[aa] where celebrating the feast of the Pasch in this way became a national custom.

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v. Namely, Theodosius II: Roman emperor in the East 408–50.

w. Valens Augustus: Roman emperor in the East 364–78.

x. Bithynia: a region in northwestern Asia Minor.

y. Helenopolis: a city located in Bithynia.

z. Also related by Socrates, *Church History* V.XXI (WEC 3:3227).

aa. Galatia: a Roman province in Asia Minor centered around modern Ankara.

In time Sabbatius openly left the Church and became bishop of those who followed his teachings. [. . .]

I am indeed astonished that Sabbatius and his followers attempted to 3907
introduce this novelty. As Eusebius, based on the testimony of Philo,[bb] Josephus,[cc] Aristobulus,[dd] and numerous others, relates, the Jews of old offered the Pasch after the vernal equinox when the sun passes through the first sign of the zodiac, called by the Greeks the Ram, and when the moon in the fourteenth day of its age is in the opposite quarter.

But the Novatians, having studied the matter most diligently, say that 3908
neither the founder of their heresy nor his followers observed this custom in the beginning. It was initiated by those who gathered at Pazo, and that at Rome up to this day their co-religionists celebrate this feast as do the other Romans. The latter, who in times past have never celebrated it differently, follow what has been handed down to them by the apostles Peter and Paul.

Furthermore, the Samaritans, who most faithfully observe the Mosaic 3909
Law, never celebrate this feast till the new fruits reach maturity. It is said that the Law calls this the Feast of the First Fruits, and it is not permitted to celebrate this feast till these fruits appear. For this reason it is absolutely necessary that the vernal equinox precede the celebration of this feast. Certainly, those who imitate the Jews in this regard cause me to be greatly amazed, for they do not follow ancient Jewish custom.

Except for those mentioned above and for those who in Asia are called 3910
Quartodecimans,[ee] all the heretics, I believe, celebrate this feast as do the Romans and the Egyptians.

The Quartodecimans celebrate it on the fourteenth day of the moon as 3911
do the Jews. This is the origin of their name.

The Novatians celebrate the day of the Resurrection, but they follow the 3912
custom of the Jews and the Quartodecimans when the fourteenth day of the moon falls on the first day of the week. In this case they celebrate the feast so many days after the Jews as there are days between the fourteenth day of the moon and the following Lord's Day.

The Montanists,[ff] whom people refer to as the Pepuzites and Phrygians, 3913
celebrate the Pasch in a strange manner, one invented by them. Criticizing

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bb. Philo: a Hellenist Jewish philosopher (d. after 41 A.D.) who resided in Alexandria.

cc. Josephus: Jewish historian (37–ca. 100).

dd. Aristobulus: mid second-century Judaeo-Hellenist philosopher.

ee. Quartodecimans: Christians who always celebrated the Christian Pasch on the fourteenth day of Nisan no matter the day of the week, and not on Sunday.

ff. Montanists: members of a movement, begun by a certain Montanus during the years 155–60 in Phrygia, that stressed the immanence of the parousia. Fasting, almsgiving, and in general a strong ethical rigorism were practiced as a preparation for the end.

all who determine the time for observing the feast according to the course of the moon, they say that one can pay attention only to the cycles of the sun. According to them each month has thirty days, and they reckon the day following the vernal equinox to be the first day of the year—according to Roman calculation this being the ninth day before the calends of April. It was on this day, they say, that the two great luminaries for indicating the seasons of the year were created. This is shown by the fact that the moon meets the sun every eight years and that the beginning of each new month falls at the same time. Indeed, the eight-year lunar cycle takes place in ninety-nine months and in 2,922 days, during which time the sun makes eight revolutions, each having 365 days and a fourth of a day. They compute the day of the sun's creation, mentioned in the Scriptures, to have been on the fourteenth day of the moon, namely, on the ninth day before the ides of the same month. It is on this day that they observe the Pasch when it occurs on the day of the Lord's resurrection. Otherwise, they celebrate it on the following Sunday, for it is written, as they say, that it may be celebrated on any day between the fourteenth and the twenty-first.

3914 VII.XIX. Thus far we have treated the differences in observing the Pasch. It seems to me that Victor,[gg] bishop of Rome, and Polycarp,[hh] bishop of Smyrna, came to a very wise decision in regard to this controversy. Because the bishops of the West did not believe that the tradition of Paul and Peter should be abolished, and because the bishops of Asia stated that they wanted to follow the Gospel of John, they unanimously agreed that each could follow his own custom in celebrating the feast without breaking communion existing among them. They concurred that it would be foolish and wrong for those agreeing in major religious issues to be separated from each other because of custom.

3915 Although professing the same doctrine, all churches do not share the same traditions. For example, in the provinces of Scythia,[ii] there is only one bishop even though there are numerous cities. In other provinces, however, each town had its own bishop. This is true for Arabia, the island of Cyprus, as well as among the Novatians and the Montanists who live in Phrygia.

3916 Among the Romans there are only seven deacons, this number having been determined by the apostles; among these deacons Stephen was the first to be martyred. In other churches, however, the number of deacons is not a matter of concern.

3917 Furthermore, at Rome the Alleluia is sung only once each year, namely, on the first day of the paschal feast. Many Romans are accustomed to swear by reason of having heard or sung this melody.

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gg. Victor: bishop of Rome 189–98.

hh. Polycarp (ca. 69–ca. 160): bishop of Smyrna (now Izmir on the west coast of Turkey) (WEC 1:12).

ii. Scythia: the region north and northeast of the Black Sea and east of the Aral Sea.

In the city of Rome it is not the bishop who teaches the people, nor is it 3918
anyone in the church. In Alexandria the city's bishop alone instructs the people. They say that this practice dates back to the time of Arius,[jj] who, though only a presbyter, initiated a new doctrine.

Another unusual custom may be found at Alexandria, one not existing elsewhere. When the gospel is read, the bishop does not rise from his chair. In Alexandria it is the archdeacon only who reads the gospel whereas in some other places one of the deacons does so; in many churches it is read only by priests whereas on special days the bishop does so, for example, in Constantinople on the first day of the feast of the Resurrection. 3919

There are some churches where *Quadragesima*, which occurs before the 3920
Pasch and during which the people fast, extends for six weeks. This is true in Illyria[kk] and in the western regions, in Libya, throughout Egypt, and in Palestine. At Constantinople Lent lasts seven weeks, as is true for the neighboring provinces as far distant as Phoenicia. In some churches the people fast three alternate weeks, doing so throughout six or seven weeks; in other churches a continuous fast is observed during the three weeks immediately before the feast. Others, like the Montanists, fast only two weeks.

The people do not gather at the same time or in the same manner in all 3921
the churches. In Constantinople and almost everywhere else they gather on Saturday as well as on the first day of the week—something never observed at Rome or Alexandria. In Egypt there are some cities and villages where, contrary to what is observed elsewhere, the people gather on Saturday evening and, though they have not eaten previously, share in the mysteries.

The same prayers and psalms are not recited in all the churches on 3922
the same occasion. Nor are the same lessons read. Thus the *Apocalypse of Peter*,[ll] considered altogether spurious by the ancients, is still read in certain Palestinian churches on Friday when a fast is observed in memory of the Savior's passion. [. . .]

VII.xxv. Following the death of Eugenius,[mm] the emperor[nn] went to 3923
Milan so as to pray within its church. When the emperor arrived at the gates of the building, Ambrose,[oo] the bishop of the city, met him, grabbed

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jj. Arius (ca. 260–336): a priest in Alexandria, noted as a preacher and for his holiness, who denied the unity and consubstantiality of the three persons of the Trinity and consequently the full divinity of Christ. Arianism was condemned by the Council of Nicaea in 325.

kk. Illyria: the ancient name for a region, bordering the Adriatic Sea, in what is now called the Balkan Peninsula.

ll. *Apocalypse of Peter*: an early second-century apocryphal book held in some places to be part of the biblical canon.

mm. Eugenius (*Eugenius Flavius*): Roman emperor 392–94.

nn. Namely, Theodosius I ("the Great"): Roman emperor in the East 379–95.

oo. See WEC 2:53.

him by his purple robe, and before a large crowd said to him, "Stand back. You are a man defiled by sin. Your hands are defiled by blood that has been unjustly shed. Unless you do penance, you may not enter; you may not share in the sacred mysteries." The emperor, admiring the independence of Ambrose, reflected on what he, the emperor, had done and, motivated to do penance and being sorrowful, drew back. [. . .] Ambrose reproached the emperor, forbade him entrance to the church, and refused him communion with the Church. The emperor openly acknowledged his sin, doing so in the church. During the time appointed for him to do penance, the emperor, as was customary for someone in mourning, was not to wear his imperial garb. He also enacted a law stating that officers appointed to carry out imperial commands were to wait thirty days before inflicting the death penalty so that the emperor's anger might subside and so that there would be an opportunity for mercy and penance. Ambrose did many other things worthy of his priestly office, things apparently known only to those living in that country.

3924 Among all the wonderful deeds attributed to Ambrose, I have heard this one. It was customary that the emperor, when present with the people gathered in the church, to sit apart from the rest of those who had assembled. Ambrose, noticing that such a practice was due to adulation or to a collapse of discipline, assigned the emperor a place in the church outside the altar's grill work; thus the emperor was to sit in front of the people and behind the priests. The emperor Theodosius approved this procedure, and from that time till the present we see it observed.[pp] [. . .]

3925 VII.XXVIII. [. . .] It is said that Zeno—and I have witnessed this—when governing the church at Majuma[qq] and when almost a hundred years old, never absented himself from the morning and evening hymns or from the rest of the divine office unless sickness hindered him. [. . .]

3926 VIII.VIII. During the reign of Theodosius ["the Great"] the Arians in Constantinople were deprived of their churches and so had to conduct their ecclesiastical assemblies outside the city walls, first gathering at night in public squares. Divided into two groups, they antiphonally sang psalms, adding certain conclusions composed by them and reflecting their teachings. At daybreak, singing in public, they went to the place where they worshiped. This was done on some of the more important feasts and on the first and seventh days of the week. What they added was capable of leading to quarrels and disputes, as for example, "Where are those who say that the three persons are one power?" Other similar texts were interspersed throughout their hymns. John [Chrysostom],[rr] fearing that some members of his church might be misled by this, commanded that his people also sing the psalms. It was not long till John's people surpassed

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pp. Also narrated by Theodoret of Cyr, *Church History* V.XVII (WEC 3:3519–32).

qq. Majuma: a port city in what today is the Gaza Strip.

rr. See WEC 2:74.

the Arians in number and in outward appearance, for they carried before them silver crosses and lighted candles. The eunuch of the empress was appointed to oversee all this; he was to prepare the hymns for singing and to cover whatever cost was involved. The Arians, either moved by envy or overcome by feelings of revenge, attacked the Catholics. People on both sides were killed. [. . .] Having begun the custom of singing hymns for the reason and in the manner described above, Catholics continue to do so up till the present day. [. . .]

VIII.xxi. John [Chrysostom], deposed by the judgment of the bishops, 3927
no longer went to the church but stayed home in his episcopal residence. At the end of *Quadragesima* and during that holy night when we celebrate the annual feast in memory of the Lord's resurrection, John's partisans, being assaulted while celebrating the sacraments of baptism, were expelled from the church by the soldiers and by some of John's enemies. This being unanticipated, a great disturbance arose in the baptistery. The women, in tears, were in great turmoil; the children were crying; the priests and deacons, still wearing the vestments used for worship, were beaten and violently ejected from the church. [. . .] When the people began to understand how they were being attacked, they did not use the church on the following day but celebrated the Pasch in the spacious public bath named after the Emperor Constantius. Officiating were bishops, priests, and others who rightly administer ecclesiastical affairs.[ss] [. . .]

145. JEROME

Jerome (*Eusebius Hieronymus*) was born ca. 345 at Stridon in Dalmatia. Perhaps as early as 354 he went to Rome to study grammar. Baptized there, Jerome proceeded to Trier and then to Aquileia, where he associated himself with the ascetical life. In 373/374 he set off to Jerusalem. Ill health, however, forced him to spend considerable time in Antioch, where he studied Greek. And while living as a hermit from 375 to 378 in the desert of Chalcis east of Antioch, he learned Hebrew.

Ordained a presbyter by Paulinus of Antioch in 379, Jerome went to Constantinople and then on to Rome, where he became the friend and secretary of Pope Damasus (WEC 2:**52**). While there he also directed a circle of aristocratic ladies (e.g., the widows Marcella and Paula) whose financial generosity on Jerome's behalf did not pass without unfavorable notice on the part of the Roman clergy.

After the pope's death Jerome left Rome in 385, from where he went to Antioch, Palestine, and Egypt. Returning to Palestine in 386, he took up residence in a monastery in Bethlehem, where he spent thirty-four years translating texts and engaging in other literary and scholarly activity. He died in 420.

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ss. Also related by Socrates, *Church History* VI.viii (WEC 3:3246).

At the urging of Pope Damasus Jerome began work on the texts of the Scriptures, beginning with the four Gospels. In 391 he initiated a new translation of various books of the Old Testament on the basis of the original Hebrew or Aramaic. Sometime before ca. 392 Jerome made a hasty translation of the psalter, using the Septuagint as his basis—this translation was once mistakenly identified with what is known as the Roman Psalter, the text of the psalms generally used in Italy down to the sixteenth century. Another psalter, known as the Gallican Psalter because of its popularity in Gaul, was produced by Jerome ca. 392, who used as his basis Origen's Hexaplaric text of the Septuagint. Finally ca. 400 Jerome produced the Hebrew Psalter, a work that never attained general acceptance. The Vulgate version of the Bible is for the most part the work of Jerome and includes the Gallican Psalter, which was generally adopted for liturgical use.

CPG 3: nos. 7815ff.; CPL nos. 580ff. * Altaner (1961) 462–76 * Altaner (1966) 394–404 * Bardenhewer (1908) 455–73 * Bardenhewer (1910) 395–410 * Bardenhewer (1913) 3:605–54 * Bardy (1930) 99–110 * Bautz 2:818–22 * Hamell 139–45 * Jurgens 2:182–214 * Labriolle (1947) 2:498–557 * Labriolle (1968) 334–73 * Leigh-Bennett 272–89 * Quasten 4:212–46 * Steidle 160–66 * Tixeront 253–59 * Wright (1928) 211–67 * CATH 6:702–6 * CE 8:341–43 * CHECL 318–22 * DACL 7.2:2235–2304 * DCB 3:29–50 * DHGE 27:1021–27 * DictSp 8:901–18 * DPAC 2:1583–88 * DTC 8.1:894–983 * EC 6:652–64 * EEC 1:430–31 * EEChr 1:606–9 * LTK 5:91–93 * NCE 7:872–74 * NCES 7:757–60 * ODCC 867–68 * PEA (1991) 5:548–51 * RACh 15:117–39 * TRE 15:304–15

G. Morin, "La lettre de s. Jérome sur le cierge pascal: résponse à quelques difficultés de M. l'abbé L. Duchesne," RB 9 (1982) 392–97. * P. Antin, "Le cilice chez s. Jérôme," VS Supplément 1 (1947) 58–61. * P. Blanchard, "Le correspondance apocryphe de pape s. Damase et de s. Jérôme sur le psautier et le chant de l'alleluia," EphL 63 (1949) 376–88. * A.A. Stephenson, "The Lenten Catechetical Syllabus in Fourth-Century Jerusalem," TS 15 (1954) 103–16. * J. Janixi, "De institutione quadragesimae apud s. Hieronymum," *Periodica de Re Morali, Canonica, Liturgica* 47 (1958) 41–60. * J. Lecuyer, "Le problème des consécrations épiscopales dans l'église d'Alexandrie," BLE 65, 4th ser. (1964) 242–57. * A. de Vogüé, "La Règle du Maître et la lettre apocryphe de s. Jérôme sur le chant des psaumes," SM 7 (1965) 357–67. * Y.M. Duval, "Saint Jérôme devant le baptême des hérétiques: d'autres sources de l'Altercatio Luciferani et Orthodoxi," REAug 14 (1968) 145–80. * E. Ferguson, "Ordination in the Ancient Church," ResQ 5 (1961) 17–32, 67–82, 130–46. * T. Marsh, "The History of the Sacramental Concept," MilS 3 (1979) 21–56. * P. Nautin, "Le premier échange épistolaire entre Jérôme et Damase: lettres réelles ou fictives?" FZPT 30 (1983) 331–44.

145-A. Dialogue between a Luciferian and an Orthodox Christian†

Written ca. 382 or perhaps earlier, this treatise is directed against the teachings of Lucifer (d. ca. 370), a strongly anti-Arian bishop of Cagliari in

† Translated from PL 23:159, 163–64.

Sardinia who refused to acknowledge the ministry of those Arian bishops who converted to orthodoxy. The protagonists in the discussion are a Luciferian (L) and an Orthodox Christian (O).

v. L. [. . .] The priest offers his sacrifice for the laity, imposes his hand 3928
on the one subject to him, requests the return of the Holy Spirit, and having prayed before the people, reconciles to the altar whoever was delivered to Satan for the ruin of the flesh, doing this so that the person's soul might be saved.[1] Nor does he restore one member to health till all the other members have together wept with him. [. . .]

VIII. L. [. . .] Do you not know that it is the Church's custom to lay 3929
hands on those who have been baptized in order to invoke the Holy Spirit? Where, you ask, is this written down? In the Acts of the Apostles. Even if the authority of the Scriptures gave no support here, the consent of the whole world regarding this practice would make it a matter of obligation. Many other things observed as a tradition in the Church take upon themselves the authority of written law, for example, dunking the head three times and then, after coming up out of the water, tasting the mixture of milk and honey as a sign of infancy, not kneeling to worship and not fasting on Sunday and during Pentecost; many other unwritten things have won a reasonable claim for themselves. [. . .]

IX. O. Certainly I don't deny that it is the Church's custom for the bishop 3930
to go to those living far distant from the major cities and who were baptized by presbyters and deacons. He does so in order to invoke the Holy Spirit through the imposition of the hand. [. . .] When the bishop imposes his hand, he does so on those who were baptized into the orthodox faith, those who believe that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit are three persons, one in substance. [. . .] Should you inquire why a person baptized in the Church receives the Holy Spirit, whom we assert is given in true baptism, and only through the hands of the bishop, learn that our authority for this practice comes from the fact that the Holy Spirit descended upon the apostles after the Lord's ascension. We find that in many places this practice is more for the honor of the bishop than from any law. If the Holy Spirit descends only at the request of the bishop, to be mourned are those in country-houses or fortresses or in more remote areas who, after being baptized by the presbyters or deacons, depart this life before being visited by the bishop. The good health of the Church depends upon the dignity of its chief priest, and if some special and unique power were not given him by all, there would be in the Church as many schisms as there are priests. For this reason neither a presbyter nor a deacon has the right to baptize without having been ordained and without being ordered to do so by the bishop. Yet we know that, as frequently happens, in cases of necessity the laity may baptize, for what a person has received, a person may give. [. . .]

1. See 1 Cor 5:5.

145-B. Life of Hilary†

This biography was written after Jerome's travels in Syria and Egypt and during his early period in Bethlehem (ca. 386–90). Hilary of Gaza (ca. 291–371) spent many years as a hermit in the Egyptian desert. Numerous miracles were ascribed to this holy man.

3931 XXXII. Returning to Aphroditos and keeping with him only two of the brothers, Hilary stayed in the near-by desert. [. . .] His reputation did not remain unknown to those dwelling in that place, and both men and women with pale faces and gaunt with hunger asked that Hilary, as Anthony's successor, grant them rain. Seeing them, Hilary was extremely moved. Raising his eyes to heaven and with uplifted hands, he immediately presented their request. Behold, that thirsty and parched region, once it was drenched with rain suddenly issued forth a large number of serpents and poisonous animals. As a result, countless people were bitten and would have immediately died had they not hurried to Hilary, who blessed some oil. All the farmers and shepherds applied this ointment to their sores and were thus restored to good health.

145-C. Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians††

Jerome intended to write on all the Pauline letters but finished commentaries on only four: Philemon, Galatians, Ephesians, and Titus. This commentary dates from Jerome's early stay in Jerusalem.

3932 II.IV. [. . .] Someone might say: If it is not permitted to observe the days, the months, the seasons, the years, then we also commit a similar sin when we observe the fourth Sabbath, the day of preparation, the Lord's Day, the Lenten fast, the feast of Easter, the joy of Pentecost, and—according to each region—the times appointed for honoring the martyrs. Whoever gives a simple reply to this says: The Jewish feasts are not our feasts. We do not celebrate the Passover of the unleavened bread but that of the Cross and Resurrection. Nor do we follow Jewish custom in counting out seven weeks in Pentecost, but we revere the coming of the Holy Spirit. So that the disorderly gathering of the people not lessen faith in Christ, certain days have been appointed when all of us might come together in unity. The purpose here is not that the day on which we gather be more crowded but so that on whatever day the people come together a greater joy might arise from seeing one another. Whoever tries to respond more effectively to the opposite question should affirm that all days are equal, that Christ was crucified not only on the Day of Reparation, that he rose not only on the Lord's Day; but that it is always the holy day of the Resurrection and that we are always to be nourished by the Lord's Body. Fasts and assemblies

† Translated from PL 23:46.

†† Translated from PL 26:378.

take place on days appointed by those prudent ones who have more time for the world than for God. Truly they do not wish to spend their whole lives gathered in church. So before engaging in human activities they offer the sacrifice of their prayers to God. How few are they who always practice at least these small things that have been appointed or observe the times for prayer or fasting? Just as we can always pray or fast and, having received the Lord's Body, incessantly celebrate the Lord's Day with those who are rejoicing, so the Jews are never allowed to sacrifice the lamb, to observe Pentecost, to set up the tents, and to fast each day. [. . .]

145-D. Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew†

This work, hastily written in 398, was requested by Eusebius of Cremona, a companion of Jerome in Bethlehem.

IV.xxv.6. "But at midnight a voice cries out: Behold the spouse is coming. Go out to meet him."[1] Suddenly, as in the middle of the night and in total peacefulness, when sleep is most heavy, the coming of Christ will be announced by the sound of the angels and the trumpets of the virtues who preceded him. Let us give the reader something of a useful explanation. According to Jewish tradition Christ will come at midnight just as was true in the past in Egypt when at Passover the angel of death came, when the Lord passed over the houses, when the doorposts were made holy by the blood of the lamb. Behold, I am sure this is the origin of the apostolic tradition which continues: at the Paschal Vigil it is not permitted to dismiss before midnight the people who are awaiting the coming of Christ. Once this moment has passed, security henceforth being secured, all celebrate the feast. Thus the words of the psalmist, "At midnight I will arise to praise you because of your just decrees."[2] 3933

145-E. Preface to the Rule of Pachomius††

It was after 404 that Jerome translated into Latin this and other Pachomian documents.

3. Whoever is the first to enter the monastery is the first to sit, to walk, to chant the psalms, to eat at the table, to receive Communion in the church; determining this is not a person's age but the date of profession. 3934

5. The sick are strengthened by wonderful help and abundant meals. Those in good health observe greater abstinence: on Wednesday and Friday all fast except at the time of Easter and Pentecost. On other days those desiring to eat do so after the sixth hour. [. . .] 3935

† Translated from *Commentaire sur S. Matthieu. S. Jérome*, vol. 1, trans. and ed. E. Bonnard, SChr 242 (Paris, 1997) 214–17.

1. Matt 25:6. 2. Ps 119:62.

†† Translated from *Pachomiana Latina*, ed. A. Boon (Louvain, 1932) 6, 8.

3936 7. The fathers of all the monasteries have a single leader who resides in the monastery of Bau. At Easter all, except those whose presence in the monastery is necessary, gather with him so that close to fifty thousand men celebrate the feast of the Lord's Passion.

3937 8. During the month of Mesore, namely, August, following the example of the remission given during the Jubilee Year,[1] there are days when sins are pardoned to all and when those at odds with one another are reconciled. [. . .]

145-F. Against Vigilantius†

Responding to a treatise by Vigilantius, a priest of Aquitaine who visited Jerusalem in 395, Jerome here defends the veneration of the saints and their relics, the custom of observing vigils, as well as various other pious practices. Jerome said he wrote the treatise, which dates from 406, in a single night.

3938 VII. We, however, do not light candles during the day, as you mistakenly accuse us of doing; but by their comfort we temper the night's darkness. And so we keep watch till dawn lest we, blind like you, slumber in the darkness. There are the ignorant or the simple-minded lay people or the pious women concerning whom we can say, "I admit that they have zeal for God but not according to knowledge."[1] They do these things to honor the martyrs. Does this harm you? Even the apostles once pleaded that the ointment was wasted, but the Lord corrected them.[2] For just as Christ did not need the ointment, so the martyrs do not need the light of the candles; a certain woman, however, used ointment to honor Christ, and the devotion of her heart was accepted. Those lighting candles are rewarded according to their faith, for the apostle says, "Let all be fully convinced in their own minds."[3] Do you call people like this idolaters? I do not deny that all of us who believe in Christ came from the error of idolatry. We were not born Christians but were reborn as Christians. Because we once worshiped idols, should we now not honor God so that we do not seem to honor him with the honor we showed to the idols? In one instance idols were given honor—something to be reprobated. In the other instance honor is given to the martyrs—something to be accepted. For even where there are no relics of the saints, throughout all the churches of the East when the gospel is read, candles are lighted even when the light of dawn reddens the sky; surely this is done not to dispel the darkness but as a sign of joy. [. . .]

3939 IX. As to keeping vigil and observing the night-watches that are often celebrated in the basilicas of the martyrs, in another letter, one I wrote

1. See Lev 25.

† Translated from PL 23:345–47.

1. Rom 10:2. 2. See Matt 26:6–13; Mark 14:3–9. 3. Rom 14:5.

about two years ago to the venerable presbyter Riparius, I gave a brief response. But you argue that all these observances should be condemned so that we do not appear to be frequently observing the Pasch and appear not to observe the year's customary vigils. Now if this is true, sacrifices should not be offered to Christ on Sunday to avoid the appearance of having frequent celebrations of the Pasch of the Lord's resurrection; to avoid the appearance of having many Easters rather than only one Easter. However, the pious should not be accused of the errors and faults of the young and of the most simple-minded women, faults that are often detected during the night; to be sure, these are generally seen as occurring during the Paschal Vigil, and yet the fault of a few should not be held against religion. [. . .]

145-G. Dialogue against the Pelagians†

These three books, written in 415, are considered by many to be Jerome's best polemical work. Atticus (A) is the Catholic protagonist; Critobulus is the Pelagian spokesman.

I.xxv. [. . .] A. According to the apostle women are to be silent in church,[1] and if they desire to know something, they should consult their husbands at home. You should not be content with having given your spouse knowledge of the Scriptures unless you take delight in her singing and canticles, for you have a heading that says: "Women are to sing to God." Yet who does not know that it is at home that women are to sing, far removed from male company and from the tumultuous crowd? You permit what is not allowed; as a result women do openly what should be done with all modesty, without any witness or authority of a teacher. 3940

145-H. Homilies

In 1897 Dom Gabriel Morin published a number of homilies by Jerome: fifty-nine on the psalms, ten on Mark's Gospel, and another ten on various other texts. In 1903 Morin issued fourteen homilies by Jerome on the psalms and two on Isaiah. These sermons were given in Bethlehem, especially on Sundays, and appear to have been recorded by various members of Jerome's congregation.

145-H-1. ON PSALM 91 (92)††

The title of Psalm 91 (92) is "A psalm: a song for the Sabbath Day." The Sabbath day cannot exist unless six days precede it. We work for six days; on the seventh day we rest. And so we can sing to the Lord only on the 3941

† Translated from PL 23:519.

1. See 1 Cor 14:34.

†† Translated from *Opera Homiletica*, vol. 2, CCL 78 (Turnhout, 1958) 133.

Sabbath Day. We cannot sing to him as long as we are doing the works of this world, namely, during the six days. As we read in Leviticus, "On the Sabbath you shall do no servile work."[1] Consequently no one on the Sabbath, on the day when the Lord rested, is to do any servile work, namely, whatever pertains to this world. To be done is whatever pertains to the Sabbath. Do you want to know why on the Sabbath priests are at work in the Lord's temple? On the Sabbath no one is allowed to cut wood. Indeed, the man found doing so in the desert was stoned to death.[2] Nor may a fire be lit or anything else done. You see that all these things, which cannot be done on the Sabbath by anyone in the world, are permitted only to the priests: they cut wood, light a fire, do other services, and sacrifice victims. Now why have I mentioned this? To show you that, according to the Law, on the Sabbath we are to cease doing all the works of the world and are to do the things that pertain to God. A psalm, therefore, is a song on the Sabbath, a day when we work for God, not for the world. [. . .]

145-H-2. ON PSALM 149†

3942 [. . .] Wherever there is a choir, many diverse voices are brought together into one song. Just as individual chords make one sound in the song, so diverse voices, namely, when the faithful assemble together, form the Lord's choir. May they praise his name as a choir. Where there is dissension, where there is envy, there is no choir. [. . .]

145-H-3. ON MARK 11:15–17††

3943 [. . .] Behold! The days of fasting have ended—days of fast, days of penance, days of purification. Let us now rejoice and be glad. The man in the Gospel, who is said to carry a little flask of water, leaves the house and goes to the guest room.[1] You are about to be baptized. And so prepare yourselves today for what will occur tomorrow. Those who head off to battle diligently make themselves ready beforehand. Does the enemy have a shield? A sword? A spear? Arrows? Is his horse refreshed? Arms are prepared beforehand so that one can fight. Fasting is your weapon; humility your battle. Should any person have something against another, let him or her forgive in order to be forgiven, for no one should consider approaching baptism to have sins forgiven who has not forgiven others. If you have something against another, extend forgiveness. I did not say that those having something against you are to forgive; no, if you have something, you are to forgive. It is in the power of another whether to forgive or not forgive. It is within your power to forgive so that you may be forgiven. You are approaching baptism. How happy are you, for you will be reborn

1. Lev 23:3. 2. See Num 15:32–36.

† Translated from CCL 78:349.

†† Translated from CCL 78:495.

1. See Mark 14:13–16.

in Christ. You will put on the garment of Christ. You will be buried with Christ so that you may rise with Christ. During the remaining days you will hear in proper order about the things that pertain to the mysteries; as for now, I have told you that, starting tomorrow, you may know that you must labor greatly. May the all-powerful God strengthen your hearts; may God make you worthy of his washing; may God descend upon you in baptism and sanctify the water so that you might be sanctified. No one having doubts is to approach. No one is to say, "Do you think my sins have been forgiven?" Whoever approaches in this manner will have no sins forgiven. It is better not to approach at all than to do so with such an outlook and especially those of you who seek baptism because you desire to serve God in a monastery.

145-H-4. ON MARK 13:32–33; 14:3–6†

[. . .] When you go down into the life-giving font with the Savior, 3944
then you will have to learn how the ointment comes upon the Savior's head. If Christ is your head, then your head is to be anointed, and you are anointed after the baptism.

145-H-5. ON THE NATIVITY OF THE LORD††

[. . .] Let us recall in our hearts that Christ was born on this day. Others 3945
believe he was born on the Epiphany. We do not condemn the opinion of others; we merely follow our own. "Let all be fully convinced in their own minds."[1] Those who hold that the Savior was born on the Epiphany and we who believe he was born on this day—all of us worship the same Lord; all of us acknowledge the same infant. [. . .]

145-H-6. ON PSALM 41 (42). TO THE NEOPHYTES†††

[. . .] Before baptism the neophytes spoke to one another, saying, 3946
"When will I come and appear before the face of God?"[1] Behold, what they sought is now given. They came and stood before the face of God, and they appeared before the altar and before the mystery of the Savior. No one deserves to see this except those who with good conscience and repentant hearts call this to mind: "My tears were my bread day and night."[2] Throughout the whole season of Lent they dedicated themselves to prayer and fasting; they slept in sackcloth and ashes, seeking the life to come by confessing their sins. Because they shed tears and showed sorrow, they are told, "Those who sow in tears will reap rejoicing."[3] Also, "Blessed are those who mourn, for they will be comforted."[4]

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† Translated from CCL 78:499.

†† Translated from CCL 78:527.

1. Rom 14:5.

††† Translated from CCL 78:543.

1. Ps 42:2. 2. Ps 42:3. 3. Ps 126:5. 4. Matt 5:4.

3947 When the devil went on to insult them and say, "Where is your God?"[5] they, having received Christ's Body and having been reborn in the life-giving font, confidently speak and say, "I will go to the place of the wonderful tabernacle, up to the house of the Lord."[6] The church is the house of God; it is a wonderful tabernacle because within it dwell the voices of joy, thanksgiving, and the sounds of those who are feasting. Certainly the angels in heaven and all the powers rejoice that our brothers and sisters have come to belief and have obtained eternal life. For if the angels rejoice and are happy over one sinner doing penance and over the one sick lamb carried back on the shoulders of the shepherd, how much more will the whole heavenly kingdom rejoice with so many of the brethren being reborn and made clean in the life-giving waters, purified from the ancient stain of sin and prepared for their dwelling place.

145-H-7. ON EASTER SUNDAY†

3948 [. . .] Just as Mary, the Virgin Mother of God, holds first place among all women, so today is the mother of all days. This is something new, and yet it is confirmed by the Scriptures; this day is both one from seven as well as one beyond seven. Today is called the eighth day, and for this reason some psalms bear the title "for the octave." This is the day on which the synagogue came to an end and on which the Church was born. This is the day in whose number eight souls were saved in Noah's ark.[1] Its counterpart, says Peter, now saves you.[2] This is the day concerning which Ecclesiastes commands, "Make seven or eight portions."[3] These are the eight steps by which in Ezekiel we go up to God's temple. This is the eighth day whose sacred meaning, with the faith of all nations in Christ, begins Psalm 8: "O Lord, our Lord, how wonderful is your name throughout the whole world."[4]

3949 Why must I go on and on? A whole day would not be sufficient for me to explain today's mystery. I say only this, namely, that the universal grace of the Sabbath and the ancient festival of the Jewish people are changed by the solemnity of this day. On the Sabbath the Jews performed no servile work; on the Lord's Day, namely, on the day of Christ's resurrection, we do no servile work because we are not servants of vice and sin. Whoever sins is the servant of sin. The Jews do not leave their houses; we do not leave the house of Christ, for we are in the Church. [. . .]

145-I. Letters

More than 150 letters are found in the corpus of Jerome's writings. Some of these, however, were written to Jerome; others are Jerome's translations of various Greek documents.

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5. Ps 42:3. 6. Ps 42:4.

† Translated from CCL 78:545–46.

1. See Gen 7:14. 2. 1 Pet 3:21. 3. Eccl 11:2. 4. Ps 8:1.

145-I-1. LETTER 14. TO HELIODORUS, MONK[†a]

VIII. [. . .] Far be it that I should say anything unfavorable about 3950
those clerics who, being successors of the apostle, bring about the Body of Christ by sacred words; through them we are Christians; they possess the keys of the kingdom of heaven; to a certain extent they render judgment before the day of judgment; they preserve the spouse of Christ by a modest chastity. Yet as I mentioned earlier, the status of the monk is one thing, that of the clergy is another. The clergy feed the sheep, and I am fed by them. They live by the altar, and I—should I not bring my gift to the altar—have the axe applied to my root as if I were a tree bearing no fruit.

145-I-2. LETTER 22. TO EUSTOCHIUM[††a]

XXXV. [. . .] The cenobites live apart from one another, dwelling in con- 3951
nected cells. Till the ninth hour no monk, except those whom we call deans, is to visit another monk. The task of the deans is to console with comforting words those whose spirits are disturbed. After the ninth hour the monks come together, sing psalms, and read the Scriptures according to their custom. Once the prayers have ended and all are sitting, the person known as "father" begins the exposition. While he is speaking, there is such a great silence that no one dares look at another or cough. Praise for the speaker is found in the weeping of the listeners. Tears silently flow down their cheeks, and yet their sorrow does not erupt into sobbing. When he begins to speak of Christ's kingdom, of future happiness, of the heavenly glory to come, you can see all the monks, with eyes lifted up toward heaven and with restrained sighing, saying among themselves, "Who will give me wings like those of a dove so that I can fly and be at rest?"[1] Then those who have gathered are dismissed, and each group of ten goes with its father to the table. Each week they take turns serving one another. During the meal there is no noise, no talking. They take only bread, legumes, and vegetables; their only seasoning is salt and oil. Only the elderly receive wine and with the young have a meal so that the advanced years of the former be supported and that the tender years of the young not begin to decay. Thereupon all rise together and after singing a hymn they return to their cells. There until evening each speaks with his companions and says, "Did you notice so-and-so, how much grace

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[†] Translated from *Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi Epistulae*, vol. 1, ed. I. Hilberg, CSEL 54 (Turnhout, 1910) 55.

a. Written between 374 and 379. Heliodorus: the bishop of Altinum near Aquileia.

[††] Translated from CSEL 54:197–201.

a. Written at Rome in 384. Eustochium: the third daughter of Jerome's friend, Paula.

1. Ps 55:7.

he has, how great a silence he has observed, how restrained is his walking?" Should they encounter a sick person, they give consolation; if they see someone fervent in love of God, they encourage that person's zeal. At night, in addition to the public prayer, each is to keep watch in his own cell. [. . .] Each Sunday they devote themselves to prayer and the readings, having first carried out their customary tasks. Each day they are taught something from the Scriptures. Throughout the whole year they observe the same fasts except during Lent when they live more strictly. After Pentecost the evening meal is changed into a midday meal, both to satisfy ecclesial tradition and not to burden the stomach with a double amount of food. [. . .]

3952 XXXVII. Even though the apostle commands us to pray always,[2] and although sleep itself is a prayer for the holy ones, nonetheless, we ought to observe the various hours of prayer so that if we should perhaps be totally involved in our work, time itself will warn us as to our duty. There is no one who is unaware that prayer should take place at the third, sixth, and ninth hours as well as at dawn and in the evening; nor that one should ever leave the table without first giving thanks to the Creator. We should arise two or three times during the night and review what we have memorized from the Scriptures. [. . .]

145-I-3. LETTER 41. TO MARCELLA[†a]

3953 3. [. . .] In accord with apostolic tradition—and the whole world agrees with us—we fast for one Lent. They [the Montanists] observe three forty-day fasts each year as if three saviors had suffered, not that it is unlawful to fast throughout the year except for Pentecost. Yet it is one thing to fast because one is obliged to do so, and another to fast voluntarily. [. . .]

145-I-4. LETTER 46. PAULA AND EUSTOCHIUM TO MARCELLA[††a]

3954 XII. [. . .] As said earlier, in the country-home of Christ there is complete rusticity and, except for the singing of the psalms, there is silence. Wherever you turn, the ploughman holding the plow is singing Alleluia, the exhausted reaper finds relief in singing the psalms, and the vine-dresser sings the songs of David while pruning the vine. These are the songs that are found in this country. As people say, they are the songs of love. They are whistled by the shepherds. They are the tools used by the tiller. [. . .]

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2. See Eph 6:18.

† Translated from CSEL 54:313.

a. Written at Rome in 385. Marcella: a widow and one of Jerome's good friends at Rome.

†† Translated from CSEL 54:342–43.

a. Written at Bethlehem in 386.

145-1-5. LETTER 48. TO PAMMACHIUS[†a]

xv. [. . .] Paul the apostle says that we are not able to pray after having 3955
had sexual relations with our wives.[1] Peter exhorts continence so that our prayers not be impeded.[2] [. . .] What is greater? To pray or to receive the Body of Christ? If intercourse hinders what is less important, so much the more does it hinder what is more important.

In the same work I stated that David and his companions, because of 3956
the Law, were not able to eat the loaves of proposition unless they were able to answer that for three days they were free from women, not only from prostitutes—something prohibited by the Law—but from their wives to whom they were rightly joined.[3] The people also, when about to receive the Law on Mount Sinai, were ordered to abstain from their wives for three days.[4] I know that at Rome it is customary for the faithful always to receive the Body of Christ, a practice I neither censure nor approve—let all be fully convinced in their own minds[5]—but I appeal to the consciences of those who on one and the same day receive Communion after having had intercourse and, according to Persius, "have washed away the night in a stream."[b] Why, I ask, do they not dare go to the martyrs? Why do they not presume to enter the churches? Is there one Christ in public and another Christ at home? Whatever is not permitted in church is not permitted at home. Nothing is hidden from God. Night shines like the day before him. All are to examine themselves[6] and then approach the Body of Christ. Postponing Communion for one or two days does not make a Christian more holy so that what I have not merited today I will merit tomorrow or the next day. If I grieve that I did not receive the Body of Christ, then I should for a short time refrain from my wife's embrace so that I might prefer the love of Christ over that of my wife. [. . .]

145-1-6. LETTER 51. FROM EPIPHANIUS, BISHOP OF SALAMIS IN CYPRUS, TO JOHN, BISHOP OF JERUSALEM[††a]

II. [. . .] Many bishops in communion with me have ordained presbyters 3957
in our province, presbyters whom we were unable to provide for, and they have sent to us deacons and subdeacons whom we gratefully received. [. . .] I have never ordained deaconesses nor sent them into other provinces, nor have I ever done anything to cause division in the Church. [. . .]

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† Translated from CSEL 54:376–77.

a. Written in 392/393. Pammachius: a Roman senator and a cousin of Jerome's good friend Marcella.

b. See *Persius* II:16.

1. See 1 Cor 7:5. 2. See 1 Pet 3:7. 3. See 2 Sam 21:5. 4. See Exod 19:15. 5. See Rom 14:5. 6. See 1 Cor 11:28.

†† Translated from CSEL 54:398, 441.

a. Jerome translated this letter, written by Epiphanius of Salamis (WEC 2:78), into Latin. John: namely, John II, the bishop of Jerusalem (386–417).

3958 IX. I have heard that some are murmuring against me. When we went on to the holy place that is called Bethel so that, according to the Church's custom, I might join you in celebrating the *collecta*, I came to the village called Anablatha. Passing through, I saw a lamp burning there. Upon inquiring as to what kind of place it was, I was told it was a church. Entering in so that I might pray, I found there a curtain suspended on the church's doors, a curtain dyed, embroidered, and having an image of Christ or of one of the saints—I don't remember precisely whose image it was. When I saw that an image of a man was hanging in a church of Christ—this being contrary to the authority of the Scriptures—I tore the curtain apart and advised the custodian of the place that this curtain be used as a shroud for some deceased poor person. Those in charge murmured, saying that since I tore the curtain apart, it was fitting for me to give them a replacement. [. . .] I have now sent them the best curtain I have been able to find, and I ask that you direct the presbyter of that place to receive [. . .] the curtain that I am sending and to direct that in Christ's church curtains of any other type—contrary as they are to our religion—are not to be hung. [. . .]

145-I-7. LETTER 52. TO NEPOTIAN[†a]

3959 VIII. When speaking in church, seek not the people's cries of approval but their lamentations. The tears of those listening are to be your praises; the words of the presbyter are to be based on the reading of the Scriptures. Do not be a declaimer or a garrulous chatterbox; rather, be someone who is most skilled in the mysteries and in the sacraments of your God.

145-I-8. LETTER 60. TO HELIODORUS[††a]

3960 XII. [. . .] Nepotian took care to see that the altar was glowing, that the walls were without dust, that the brick pavement was wiped clean, that the doorkeeper was always at his post, that the curtains were always on the doorways, that the sacristy was clean, and that the vessels were shining. With reverent care he saw to all the ceremonies, and he neglected no duty, whether great or small. Whenever you looked for him in the church, you found him there. [. . .] He decorated the basilicas of the Church and the shrines of the martyrs with various types of flowers, foliage, and vine leaves so that whatever was pleasing in the church, whether by location or appearance, testified to the work and zeal of the presbyter in charge of it.

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† Translated from CSEL 54:428.

a. Written in 394. Nepotian: a presbyter at Altinum.

†† Translated from CSEL 54:563–64.

a. Heliodorus: a monk and the bishop of Altinum near Aquileia.

145-I-9. LETTER 71. TO LUCINIUS[†a]

VI. You ask whether a fast is to be observed on Saturday and whether 3961
the Eucharist is to be received each day, as is customary in the Roman church and in Spain. [. . .] Briefly, I believe that ecclesiastical traditions, especially those that do not hinder faith, are to be followed as earlier generations passed them down; what one church does is not to be rejected because another church acts differently. And so would that we fast at all times, as we read in the Acts of the Apostles that the faithful did with Paul during the days of Pentecost and on the Lord's Day.[1] These, however, are not to be accused of the Manichaean heresy since bodily nourishment is not to be preferred to spiritual nourishment. As to the Eucharist, without any rebuke from me or pang of conscience you may always receive. Listen to the psalmist who says, "Taste and see the goodness of the Lord"[2] and sing with him, "My heart pours forth a good word."[3] This is what I am saying. Do not fast on feastdays; do not fast during the weekdays of Pentecost. Each province is to follow its own desires[4] and to consider the precepts of the elders as apostolic laws.

145-I-10. LETTER 77. TO OCEANUS[††a]

XI. Fabiola[b] had just breathed her last and returned her soul to Christ to 3962
whom it belonged [. . .] when all the people in the city gathered for her funeral. They sang psalms, and the golden roofs of the temple shook with Alleluias raised on high. Choirs of young and old acclaimed her deeds and sang the praise of her holy soul. [. . .]

145-I-11. LETTER 82. TO THEOPHILUS, BISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA[†††a]

II. In the Gospel we read: "If you bring your gift to the altar and while 3963
there you remember that your brother has something against you, leave your gift there before the altar and go first to be reconciled with your brother; and then come and offer your gift."[1] If we are not to offer our gifts without being at peace, how much the more are we to be at peace when receiving the Body of Christ? How can I in good conscience respond

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† Translated from *Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi Epistulae*, vol. 2, ed. I. Hillberg, CSEL 55 (Vienna, 1918) 6–7.

a. Lucinius: a wealthy Spaniard from Baetica and a student of the Scriptures.

1. See Acts 13:2–3. 2. Ps 34:8. 3. Ps 44:1. 4. See Rom 14:5.

†† Translated from CSEL 55:48.

a. Written in 399. Oceanus: a Roman official, perhaps a senator, who was noted for upholding orthodoxy.

b. Fabiola: a Roman noblewoman who went to Bethlehem in 394, where she engaged in various charitable and religious activities.

††† Translated from CSEL 55:109.

a. Theophilus: Bishop of Alexandria 385–412, a staunch opponent of paganism.

1. Matt 5:23–24.

"Amen" to the Eucharist of Christ when I have doubts about the love of the person presenting it?

145-I-12. LETTER 98. FROM THEOPHILUS†

3964 XIII. [. . .] He [Origen[a]] pretends that the Holy Spirit does not extend its work to inanimate things and does not reach those who lack reason. He asserts this but does not recognize that the mystical waters of baptism are made holy by the coming of the Holy Spirit and that the Lord's bread, which shows forth the Body of the Savior and which we break to sanctify ourselves, as well as the holy cup—all being placed on the table of the church and which are certainly inanimate—are made holy by the invocation and the coming of the Holy Spirit. [. . .]

145-I-13. LETTER 107. TO LAETA††a

3965 I. [. . .] A holy and faithful household sanctifies a nonbeliever. Someone who is surrounded by a group of believing children and grandchildren is a candidate for the faith. I even think that if [your father] had such a family when he was young, he would have been able to believe in Christ. He might spit upon and deride my letter; he might call me foolish or mad; and yet his son-in-law did this before he came to faith. Christians are made, not born. [. . .]

3966 IX. [. . .] May your daughter never go out in public without you, her mother. May she never visit the basilicas of the martyrs or the churches without you. [. . .] May our little virgin not observe days of vigil and solemn night vigils while being in the least separated from her mother's side. [. . .] She should rise at night for prayer and psalmody. She should sing the psalms in the morning and at the third, sixth, and ninth hours as if to join the battle line of Christ. She should light the lamp to offer the evening sacrifice. May she spend the day doing all this; may she pass the night in similar fashion. May reading follow prayer; may prayer follow reading. Time will pass quickly when it is filled with such a great variety of works.

145-I-14. LETTER 108. TO EUSTOCHIUM†††a

3967 XX. I will now say a word about the procedure followed in the monastery [established by Paula]. [. . .] She divided the many virgins whom she gathered from the various provinces—some of noble birth, others from the middle or lower class—into three groups or monasteries so that, although apart for work and for meals, they came together for the singing of the psalms and

† Translated from CSEL 55:196–97.

a. See WEC 1:43.

†† Translated from CSEL 55:291, 300.

a. Laeta: the daughter-in-law of Paula, one of Jerome's good friends.

††† Translated from CSEL 55:334–35, 348.

a. Eustochium: the third daughter of Paula, a friend of Jerome.

for prayer. After the singing of the Alleluia—this being a signal calling them together for the *collecta*—no one was permitted to stay behind. [. . .] At dawn, at the third, sixth, and ninth hours, in the evening, and at midnight they sang the psalms, one after another. Not one of them was allowed to be ignorant of the psalms; each day they were to learn something from the holy Scriptures. Only on the Lord's Day did they proceed to the church next to which they lived, each group following its own mother. Returning home together, they devoted themselves to their assigned tasks. [. . .]

XXIX. Neither tears nor sorrow, so customary in the world, followed the 3968
death of Paula. Rather, all the monks were loudly singing the psalms in various languages. With their own hands the bishops placed her body upon a bier and carried it to the church located in the cave of the Savior where they placed it in the center. Other bishops carried torches and candles, whereas others led the choirs of the psalm-singers. [. . .] In Greek, in Latin, and in Syriac they sang the psalms one after another, not only during the three days before the interment beneath the church and next to the cave of the Lord but during the rest of the week. [. . .]

145-I-15. LETTER 109. TO RIPARIUS[†a]

I. [. . .] We honor the relics of the martyrs so that we might adore him 3969
on whose behalf they were martyred. We honor the servants so that this honor might extend to their Master. [. . .]

145-I-16. LETTER 113. TO THEOPHILUS[††]

II. In your work I admire what is useful for all the churches, namely, 3970
that the ignorant be instructed by the authority of the Scriptures concerning the reverence they should show when receiving holy things and when ministering at Christ's altar; they are to learn that the holy cups and holy veils and whatever else pertains to the worship of the Lord's passion are not inert and unfeeling objects devoid of holiness but, because of their close relationship with the Lord's very Body and Blood, are to be venerated with the same dignity as that shown to his Body and Blood.

145-I-17. LETTER 120. TO HEDIBIA[†††a]

II. [. . .] We believe that the bread which the Lord broke and gave to 3971
his disciples is the Body of the Lord who said to them, "Take and eat, this is my Body."[1] We also believe that the cup is the cup concerning which he

† Translated from CSEL 55:352.

a. Riparius: a presbyter in Gaul.

†† Translated from CSEL 55:395.

††† Translated from CSEL 55:479–80.

a. Written in 406. Hedibia: a lady living in Gaul who wrote to Jerome with questions on Scripture.

1. Matt 26:26.

said, "Drink from this, all of you, for this is my Blood of the new covenant which is shed for many unto the forgiveness of sins."[2] This is the cup concerning which we read in the Prophet, "I will accept the cup of salvation and call upon the name of the Lord."[3] And elsewhere, "Your cup cheers me like the best oil."[4] For if the bread that comes down from heaven is the Lord's Body and if the wine that he gave his disciples is his blood of the New Testament, the blood he shed for the remission of sins, then we disregard the stories of the Jews and ascend with the Lord to the Upper Room, prepared and clean, and receive from him on high the cup of the New Testament and there, celebrating the Passover with him, may we be intoxicated with the wine of sobriety. Food and drink are not the kingdom of God but "justice and joy and peace in the Holy Spirit."[5] It is not Moses but the Lord Jesus who gives us true bread. He is both the table companion as well as the feast; he is the one who eats and who is consumed. [. . .]

145-I-18. LETTER 130. TO DEMETRIAS[†a]

3972 XV. [. . .] In addition to the order of psalmody and prayer, which you are always to follow at the third, sixth, and ninth hours, in the evening, at midnight and when morning breaks, you should decide on how many hours you will devote to the study of Scripture, how much time for reading, doing so not to burden the soul but to delight and instruct it. [. . .]

145-I-19. LETTER 146. TO EVANGELUS[††]

3973 I. In Isaiah we read, "The fool will speak what is foolish."[1] I hear that a certain person has become so foolish as to place deacons before priests, even before bishops. Now if the apostle clearly teaches that presbyters are the same as bishops, then would not a servant of the table and of widows be arrogant to consider himself superior to those whose prayers bring about the Body and Blood of Christ? Now by what authority do I say this? Listen to the following testimony, "Paul and Timothy, servants of Christ Jesus, to all the holy ones in Christ Jesus who are at Philippi with the bishops and deacons."[2] Do you wish another example? In the Acts of the Apostles Paul speaks as follows to the priests of the one Church, "Watch over yourselves and over the whole flock, in which the Holy Spirit has made you bishops so that you might care for the Lord's Church which he acquired by his own blood."[3] And so that no one may contend that there were many bishops in the one Church, listen to the following testimony which most clearly proves that the bishop and the presbyter are

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2. Matt 26:27–28. 3. Ps 116:4 (13). 4. Ps 23:5. 5. Rom 14:17.

† Translated from *Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi Epistulae*, vol. 3, ed. I. Hilberg, CSEL 56 (Vienna, 1918) 195.

a. Demetrias: a virgin and ascetic of Roman birth who settled in Carthage.

†† Translated from CSEL 56:308–12.

1. Isa 32:6. 2. Phil 1:1. 3. Acts 20:28.

the same: "This is why I have left you in Crete so that you might correct what needs correcting and might appoint presbyters in each city as I have commanded you to do. A bishop or a dispenser of God should be without sin, married only once, having faithful children who are not accused of licentiousness or rebellion. He must be blameless."[4] And to Timothy, "Do not neglect the gift given to you by prophecy through the imposition of the hands of the presbyters."[5] In his first letter Peter says, "I beseech the presbyters among you, doing so as a fellow presbyter and a witness to the suffering of Christ and a participant in the glory that will be revealed. Feed the flock of Christ, overseeing it not by force but willingly as God would so desire."[6] The Greek makes this more clear: *episkopountes*, namely, "overseeing," and this is the origin of the word "bishop" [*episcopus*]. Now does the testimony of such great men appear insignificant to you? Then just listen to the Trumpet of the Gospel, the Son of Thunder, whom Jesus loved the most, who from the breast of the Savior drank the waters of doctrine, "The Presbyter to the chosen lady and to her children, whom I love in truth."[7] In another letter he writes, "The Presbyter to the beloved Gaius whom I love in truth."[8] Afterwards one presbyter was selected to be set over the others, this being done as a remedy for schism so that no one divide the Church of Christ by drawing it to himself. For at Alexandria, from the time of Mark the evangelist to Heraclas and Dionysius, the presbyters always selected one of their own number to be bishop, to be higher in rank, just as an army appoints its leader or as deacons select from among themselves one whom they know to be diligent, making him an archdeacon. For other than ordaining, what does a bishop do that a presbyter cannot do? Are we to judge that there is one Church in the city of Rome and another in the rest of the world? Gaul and Britain, Africa, Persia, India, and all foreign countries adore the one Christ and observe one rule of faith. If you seek authority, the world is greater than its major city. Wherever there is a bishop, whether in Rome or Engubium, whether at Constantinople or at Rhegium, whether at Alexandria or at Zoan, each bishop's dignity and priesthood is one. Power over riches and the lowliness of poverty do not make him any more or any less a bishop. All are successors of the apostles.

11. But you ask why a presbyter in Rome is ordained on the testimony of 3974
a deacon. Why do you mention the custom of one city only? Why do you oppose to the Church's laws a smaller number of cases that can be called into question. The rarer something is, the more it is sought after. In India the penny-royal is more expensive than pepper. Being few in number, deacons are more highly regarded, whereas presbyters, because of their numbers, are less thought of. Even in the church of Rome the presbyters sit whereas the deacon stands although—defects gradually increasing—I have seen a deacon in the bishop's absence sitting among the presbyters

4. Titus 1:5–7. 5. 1 Tim 4:14. 6. 1 Pet 5:1–2. 7. 2 John 1:1. 8. 3 John 1:1.

and at domestic meals giving his blessing to the presbyters. Those acting in this manner should know they are not acting correctly. They should listen to the apostle, "It is not fitting that we should neglect the word of God to minister at the table."[9] Let them know why they were appointed deacons. Let them read the Acts of the Apostles. May they remember their condition. The name *presbyter* refers to age; the term *episcopus* refers to dignity. Consequently when writing to Timothy[10] and to Titus[11] the apostle speaks of the ordination of the bishop and of deacons, and yet he says absolutely nothing about presbyters because the office of the presbyter is contained in that of the bishop. When someone is promoted, it is from the lower to the higher. [. . .]

146. MARK THE DEACON

Mark, a deacon, was an assistant to Porphyry, bishop of Gaza 395–420. Porphyry, born ca. 347, spent a number of years as a monk in Egypt and Palestine and was ordained a priest ca. 392, becoming bishop of Gaza in 395. At the time Gaza, a city in southwest Palestine, was a center of Greek paganism, one of the last strongholds of the old religion, its residents not even allowing Christians to construct churches within the town's borders. One of Porphyry's main goals as bishop was to eliminate pagan worship from the city, especially by having the pagan temples destroyed or replaced. He died in 420.

CPG 3:6722 * Altaner (1961) 257 * Altaner (1966) 243 * Bardenhewer (1913) 4:308–11 * Bardenhewer (1910) 318–19 * Steidle 245–46 * DACL 14.1:1465–69 * DCB 3:826 * DictSp 10:266–67 * DPAC 2:2101–2 * EC 8:40 * EEC 1:527 * EEChr 2:721 * PEA (1894) 14.2:1867

146-A. Life of Porphyry, Bishop of Gaza†

Scholars believe that this biography, based on notes written by Mark, was redacted in the late fifth or early sixth century.

3975 XXI. Some of the Greeks [. . .] came with us to the holy church. The saintly man [Porphyry], having sealed them with the sign of Christ, had them depart. There were 127 of them, 78 men, 35 women, and 14 children, of whom 5 were maidens. And once we had offered the perfect sacrifice of thanksgiving, each returned home. [. . .] On the eleventh [of January] we celebrated the feast of our Lord and Master's Theophany, doing so with joy, singing hymns, and giving thanks for all the blessings given us through God's loving kindness. [. . .]

9. Acts 6:2. 10. See 1 Tim 3:1–13. 11. See Titus 1:5–9.

† Translated from *Vie de Porphyre évêque de Gaza*, trans. and ed. H. Grégoire and M.A. Kugener (Paris, 1930) 18–19, 27, 39–40, 46–47, 71.

XXXI. All present[a] were struck with wonder and cried out, "Great is 3976
the God of the Christians. Great is the priest Porphyry." The next day the woman's parents, her husband, and all the members of her family went to blessed Porphyry. Throwing themselves at his feet, they requested to be sealed in Christ. Porphyry marked them with the Christian seal, made them catechumens, and enjoined them to frequent the holy church. He then instructed them and a little later baptized them, together with the woman and her infant who was given the name Porphyry. Some sixty-four people were enlightened [baptized] because of this woman.

XLVII. [. . .] The day arrived when the young emperor Theodosius[b] 3977
was to be baptized. The whole city was decorated with silk, jewels, and all types of ornamentation to such an extent that it is simply impossible to describe the city's splendor. One could see the throng of citizens moving like a wave, their glistening garments assuming all forms and colors. It is beyond my ability to describe this splendor; to do so belongs to those who are skilled in writing. For me, I return to my true account.

After the young Theodosius had been baptized and while he was 3978
returning to the palace from the church, one could again view the magnificent crowd of dignitaries walking at the head of the procession and clothed in shining garments. All, in fact, wore white so that the crowd seemed to be covered with snow. In front of the procession were the patricians, the important civil servants, all sorts of celebrities, together with sections of the army—all carrying candles so that it seemed as if the stars were shining on the earth. Close by the infant, who was being carried, walked the emperor Arcadius himself,[c] happy in countenance and brighter than the purple he was wearing. One of the notables was holding the infant who also was garbed in a white robe. We were amazed in seeing all this glory. And Saint Porphyry told us, "If earthly things, which pass so quickly, have such glory, what about the heavenly things prepared for those who are worthy of them, 'things the eye has not seen nor has the ear heard, things that have never entered into the human heart.'"[1]

LVII. [. . .] We called to the owner of the ship[d] and said to him, "Do 3979
you desire that your ship be saved together with us and your own soul?" He replied, "Unquestionably!" And the bishop [Porphyry] said to him,

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a. Namely, those present when through the intercession of Porphyry, a woman having problems giving birth safely delivered.

b. Theodosius II: Roman emperor in the East 408–50.

c. Arcadius: Roman emperor in the East 377–408 and father of Theodosius II.

d. A severe storm was threatening the ship upon which the bishop and his deacon were traveling.

1. 1 Cor 2:9.

"Reject your evil belief and believe in the true faith; be saved, you, your ship, and all of us." The ship owner said, [. . .] "I believe what you believe; I reject the heresy of Arius and Arius himself." [. . .] The holy bishop took and sealed him again, praying over him, and also had him share in the divine mysteries. Meanwhile the storm ceased; toward evening the wind receded; the weather was good for sailing. [. . .]

3980 XCII. Five years had to pass before the construction of the great holy church was completed. Its name was Eudoxiana, called after the Empress Eudoxia,[e] most beloved of God. The most holy Porphyry consecrated it on Easter,[f] the Day of the Resurrection, doing so in a splendid fashion, sparing no expense. Those who gathered were all the monks, about a thousand of them together with other devout people, clergy, laity, and bishops. All the days of the holy Easter were days of rejoicing. Choirs of angels were seen not only during the offices of the church but also at the time meals were taken. Their table was not only material but also spiritual: a psalm was said after the meat course; there was a hymn after the libations. When the pagans saw what had happened, their hearts were warmed. Strangers from all over arrived to gaze upon the beauty and magnificence of this holy church, which was said to be greater than all the other churches existing at the time.

EGYPT

147. *APOPHTHEGMATA PATRUM*

The *Apophthegmata Patrum* or *Sayings of the Fathers* is an anonymous collection of proverbs, maxims, and anecdotes illustrating the piety and desert experience of the Egyptian monks. Oral in origin, the collection has come down to us in various languages, e.g., Greek, Latin, Syriac, Coptic, Armenian, etc., thus testifying as to the popularity of the work, which appears to have been edited or redacted toward the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century. Two forms exist: one listing the monks alphabetically, the other presenting general topic areas. Much research remains to be done to unravel the complexity of this precious historical resource on early Eastern monasticism.

CPG 3: nos. 5560ff. * Altaner (1961) 256–57 *Altaner (1966) 239 * Bardenhewer (1913) 4:107–9 * Bardy (1929) 155–56 * Quasten 3:187–89 * Steidle 100 * CATH 1:719 * CE 1:623–24 * CHECL 379–80 * DHGE 3:1021–23 * DictSp 1:765–70 * DPAC 1:291–92 * DTC 1.2:1602 * EC 1:1670–71 * EEC 1:60–61 * EEChr 1:87–88 * LTK 1:849 * NCE 1:678 * NCES 1:568–69 * ODCC 88 * PEA (1991) 1:894 * RACh 1:545–50

e. Eudoxia: wife (d. 404) of Arcadius.

f. The date was April 14, 407.

Arsenius [†a]

XXIV. [. . .] Another time Abba[b] Arsenius said to Abba Alexander, "After 3981
you finish cutting your palm branches, come and join me in eating. But if guests should arrive, then eat with them." Abba Alexander was a slow worker, someone who took his time. When the hour for eating came, he still had branches to cut. Wishing to comply with the older monk's directives, he waited till he finished his work. But Abba Arsenius, seeing that Abba Alexander was late, went ahead and ate, thinking to himself that guests had perhaps arrived. Abba Alexander, his work being completed in the evening, returned. The old man asked him, "Did you have guests?"
"No, I did not."
Then Abba Arsenius asked, "So why did you not come?"
"Because you told me that I should come only after I had cut the palm branches. I complied with what you said. I did not come because my work was not yet finished."

The old monk marveled at his careful obedience and told him, "Break your fast right now so that you might say your synaxis [of prayer]; take some water so that your body not become weak."

Epiphanius [c]

III. Blessed Epiphanius, the bishop of Cyprus, was told the following by 3982
the abbot of a monastery Epiphanius had founded in Palestine. "By your prayers we have not neglected our canon [of prayer] and the psalmody, but we zealously celebrate Terce, Sext, and None. But Epiphanius, reproaching them, said, "Clearly you neglect the other hours of the day when you cease praying. It is fitting that a true monk always have prayer and psalmody in his heart."

Macarius [d]

XXXIII. [. . .] Macarius said, "Two young men, foreigners, came to see 3983
me. [. . .] When early morning came, I pretended that I had just awoken. They did likewise. The older of the two said to me, 'Is it your wish that we say the twelve psalms?' I replied in the affirmative. The younger man sang five psalms, each with six verses and one Alleluia. At each verse a flame of fire poured forth from his mouth and ascended into heaven. The same was true for the other. When he opened his mouth in psalmody, it was as

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† Translated from PG 65:93–96, 163–64, 277–78, 585–88.

a. Arsenius: a well-known Egyptian monk, formerly a tutor at the imperial court (d. ca. 449).

b. Abba: an Aramaic term for "father," a title given in Egypt to an older and more venerable monk.

c. Epiphanius: founder of a monastery in Palestine and then bishop of Salamis on Cyprus (WEC 2:78).

d. Macarius: although many Egyptian monks at the time bore the name "Macarius," this is Macarius the Egyptian (d. ca. 390).

if a flame of fire issued forth, extending upward as far as the heavens. For a short while I also recited the psalms, saying them by memory." [. . .]

An Abba from Rome

3984 1. Once there was a Roman monk who lived in Scetis[e] close to a church. [. . .] An Egyptian notable, hearing about him, came to pay a visit, thinking that the monk would be leading a very ascetic life. Entering, he greeted the monk. After a prayer was said, they sat down. [. . .] When evening came, they recited twelve psalms and fell asleep. Likewise during the middle of the night. In the morning the Egyptian rose and said to the monk, "Pray for me." He then departed. [. . .]

148. CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA

Born in Alexandria ca. 375, Cyril apparently led a monastic life for a number of years. His uncle was Theophilus, the metropolitan of Alexandria 385–412 and an opponent of John Chrysostom (WEC 2:74). Cyril was a supporter of Theophilus, whom he succeeded as metropolitan.

As bishop Cyril was more than eager to engage in controversy. As to the pagans, he appears to share at least indirect blame for the cruel murder of the neoplatonist philosopher Hypatia at the hands of a Christian mob. As to the Jews, he once expelled them from Alexandria after an incident of Jewish-Christian strife. Both Arianism and Novatianism were also objects of his rhetoric. But it is especially in regard to his opposition to Nestorius that Cyril is most remembered. Nestorius, metropolitan of Constantinople, defended the proposition that Mary was the mother only of Christ's humanity and consequently could not be called the *Theotokos* ("the mother of God"). The position of Nestorius was eventually condemned at the Council of Ephesus (431), which was presided over by Cyril, who died in 444.

Although a first-rate theologian and a prolific author, Cyril is perhaps more often remembered by historians as a bishop who loved power, conflict, and controversy, all used, in his mind, on behalf of orthodoxy.

CPG 3: nos. 5200ff. * Altaner (1961) 328–34 * Altaner (1966) 283–88 * Bardenhewer (1908) 360–70 * Bardenhewer (1910) 230–40 * Bardenhewer (1913) 4:23–78 * Bardy (1929) 149–54 * Bautz 1:1183–86 * Hamell 118–21 * Jurgens 3:205–36 * Quasten 3:116–42 * Steidle 90–95 * Tixeront 160–64 * CATH 3:407–12 * CE 4:592–95 * CHECL 353–57 * DCB 1:763–73 * DHGE 13:1169–77 * DictSp 2.2:2672–83 * DPAC 1:691–96 * DTC 3:2476–2527 * EC 3:1715–24 * EEC 1:214–15 * EEChr 1:310–12 * LTK 2:1368–70 * NCE 4:571–76 * NCES 4:465–70 * ODCC 443–44 * RACh 3:499–516 * TRE 8:254–60

E. Michaud, "Saint Cyrille d'Alexandrie et l'eucharistie," RIT 10 (1902) 599–614, 675–92. * J. Mahé, "L'eucharistie d'après s. Cyrille d'Alexandrie," RHE 8 (1907)

e. Scetis or Scete: a center of Egyptian monasticism in the Libyan Desert about halfway between Alexandria and Cairo.

677–96. * A. Struckmann, *Die Eucharistielehre der hl. Cyrill von Alexandrien* (Paderborn, 1910). * P.-T. Camelot, "L'eucharistie dans l'école d'Alexandrie," Div 1 (1957) 71–92. * E. Gebremedhin, *Life-Giving Blessing: An Inquiry into the Eucharistic Doctrine of Cyril of Alexandria*, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis; Studia Doctrinae Christianae Upsaliensia 17 (Uppsala, 1977). * L.J. Welch, *Christology and Eucharist in the Early Thought of Cyril of Alexandria* (San Francisco, 1994).

148-A. Dialogue on the Trinity†

This anti-Arian treatise consists of seven dialogues with a certain Nemesius, a friend of the author. The first six dialogues treat the divinity of the Son; the seventh, the Holy Spirit.

By nature all of us are separate individuals. Nonetheless, we are united as one. We have different personalities, and thus one person is Peter or John, Thomas or Matthew. Yet we are, as it were, molded into the one body of Christ. We feed on one flesh alone. One Spirit makes us one; as Christ is one and indivisible, so we are no longer apart but one in him. And so Christ said to his heavenly Father, "That they may be one as we are one."[1] 3985

148-B. Adoration and Worship of God in Spirit and in Truth††

6. Suppose that some part of your body is ill. Now if you truly believe that the Lord of the Sabbath—as well as the various invocations attributed by Scripture to God in accord with the divine nature—will cure your illness, then even when you utter these sayings over yourselves, you will fare much better than the pagans since you are glorifying God and not the impious spirits. I also recall the divinely inspired writing which says, "Are any among you sick? Let them call in the presbyters of the Church."[1] 3986

148-C. Glaphyra†††

The *Glaphyra* or *Elegant Comments* is a systematic explanation of certain Pentateuch passages. The work, in seven books, was written after 412.

II. [. . .] He commanded that during this night, namely, in this world, flesh be eaten. This is what Paul had in mind when he wrote, "The night has passed; the day approaches."[1] By this Paul clearly meant the world to come, whose light is Christ himself. Therefore, he says, they eat flesh in 3987

† Translated from PG 75:695.

1. John 17:11.

†† Translated from PG 68:471–72.

1. Jas 5:14.

††† Translated from PG 69:427–48.

1. Rom 13:12.

this world. For insofar as we are in this world, we will imperfectly share Christ by means of his holy Body and precious Blood. However, when on the day of his power and strength we will hasten forward and, as is written,[2] go up to join the fellowship of the saints, there we will be made holy in another fashion, one known by him who distributes and gives future benefits. Receiving the holy Body and drinking the salutary Blood have within themselves a profession of Christ's death, a death he suffered for our sake. As he said elsewhere when establishing laws concerning this mystery, "As often as you eat this bread and drink this wine, you will proclaim the death of the Lord."[3] In the present world we proclaim his death by sharing in these things. [. . .]

148-D. Commentary on the Gospel of John†

This highly theological and polemical commentary was written before 429. It is divided into twelve books, with only fragments remaining of books seven and eight.

3988 II.1. On John 3:5. [. . .] The human spirit is made holy by the Spirit; the body by water that has been sanctified. For just as water placed in a kettle receives its power from a strong fire, so through the working of the Spirit perceptible water is transformed, receiving a certain divine and ineffable power and sanctifying all who are within it.

3989 XI.11. On John 20:21. So that we might come together as united with God and with one another—even though we differ from each other in body and soul—the Only-Begotten has devised a certain means sought by his own wisdom and the counsel of the Father. By one body he, blessing through mystical communion those believing in him, has us share the same body with him and with each other. Can anyone divide those who are joined to Christ through the unity of that holy body and remove them from the natural unity existing among them? Now if all of us share in the one bread, so all of us form one body.[1] Christ cannot be divided. The Church is called the body of Christ; we are his individual members, as Paul said.[2] We are all united to the one Christ through his holy body since we receive him who is one and indivisible into our bodies. In this way our members serve him rather than ourselves. [. . .]

3990 XII.1. On John 20:22–23. [. . .] He believed that those who already possessed the divine and ruling Spirit should be able to forgive or retain the sins of any as they so desired since the Holy Spirit dwells in them, the Spirit who forgives or retains as the Spirit wills even though, as it happens, this is done by men. Furthermore, those having the Spirit forgive or retain sins, I believe, in two ways: they either invite to baptism those

2. See Ps 110:3. 3. 1 Cor 11:26.

† Translated from PG 73:243–46; 74:559–60, 721–22, 725–26.

1. See 1 Cor 10:17. 2. See Eph 5:30.

whose probity of life and perseverance in faith has made them suitable for baptism or they forbid or delay from divine grace those who are not yet worthy of it. Yet there is still another means whereby sins are forgiven or retained, namely, when they correct the Church's sinful children and pardon those who do penance.

XII.2. On John 20:26–27. [. . .] Rightly, then, do we have our holy as- 3991
semblies in church on the eighth day. To use allegorical language, as the idea demands, we do close the doors. Nonetheless, Christ visits and appears to all of us, whether invisibly or visibly: invisibly as God but also visibly in the body. He allows us to touch his holy Body and gives it to us. It is through divine grace that we can share in the blessed Eucharist. Doing so we receive Christ into our hand so that we may firmly believe that he in truth did raise up the temple of his body. To share in the holy Eucharist is to proclaim Christ's resurrection. Christ's own words prove this, the very words he used when he carried out this type of the mystery. As it is written, he broke the bread and gave it to them, saying, "This is my Body, which is given for you unto the forgiveness of sins: do this in memory of me."[3] The divine mysteries not only fill us with divine blessedness. They are a true profession and memorial of Christ's death and resurrection which took place for us. [. . .]

148-E. Apology to the Emperor†

Writing to Emperor Theodosius II,[a] Cyril here explains his actions before and during the Council of Ephesus in 431.

Then the holy synod gathered in the church named after Mary[b] and ap- 3992
pointed Christ to be, as it were, its confessor and head. The gospel book was placed on its holy throne in order to be venerated. [. . .]

148-F. Letter 9. To Posidonius††a

6. [. . .] Having failed on this occasion, Nestorius[b] thought of some- 3993
thing else. He said, "Why did you have private gatherings and celebrate the sacrifice in homes?" Almost every cleric said to him, "Each of us does so when the times or necessity so demand." Nonetheless, Nestorius brought a decree of deposition against the man. [. . .]

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3. See Matt 26:26, 28; Mark 14:22; Luke 22:19; 1 Cor 11:24.

† Translated from PG 76:471–72.

a. Theodosius II: emperor in the East (WEC 3:134).

b. The ruins of this building still exist.

†† Translated from PG 76:457–58.

a. Posidonius: a deacon in Rome.

b. Nestorius: the patriarch of Constantinople (b. after 351; d. after 450) whose name is given to the doctrine that there exist two separate persons in Christ, one human and the other divine.

149. ISIDORE OF PELUSIUM

Born ca. 360 in Alexandria, Isidore was a priest and a member of a monastic foundation near Pelusium, a port city in Lower Egypt. Although the sixth-century Roman deacon Rusticus speaks of him as an *"abbas monasterii circa Pelusium,"* common opinion is that *"abbas"* here means a "teacher" or "instructor." Highly regarded among his contemporaries, Isidore died ca. 440.

CPG 3: nos. 5557ff. * Altaner (1961) 308–9 * Altaner (1966) 267–68 * Bardenhewer (1910) 316 * Bardenhewer (1913) 4:100–107 * Bautz 2:1383 * Quasten 3:180–85 * Steidle 99 * Tixeront 168 * CATH 6:153–54 * CE 8:185–86 * DCB 3:315–20 * DHGE 26:211–12 * DictSp 7.2:2097–2103 * DPAC 2:1834–35 * DTC 8.1:84–98 * EC 7:254 * EEC 1:417–18 * EEChr 1:593 * LTK 5:618 * NCE 7:673–74 * NCES 7:601–2 * ODCC 851 * PEA (1894) 9.2:2068–69 * PEA (1991) 5:1121

149-A. Letters[†]

Some 2,012 letters (19 being doublets) written by Isidore were collected between 450 and 550 at a monastery in Constantinople. They treat a wide variety of topics: e.g., exegesis (for the most part not allegorical), spirituality, theology, contemporary events. The letters, usually very brief and written from 393 to 433, have come down to us artificially divided into five books.

3994 I.XC. [. . .] Women were originally permitted by the apostles and presbyters to join in singing so as to prevent their gossiping in church. Later, this permission was withdrawn since it was learned that women did not gain any salutary fruits of penance from divine song but used the sweetness of melody for disturbances of every kind since they looked on it exactly the same way as theater music. [. . .]

3995 I.CXXII. When the bishop goes up to the church's episcopal chair, he extends the peace, doing so in imitation of the peace Jesus left to his disciples.[1] The people reply, "And with your spirit." The meaning here is as follows. Lord, the peace you offered us is our unity together. Grant us peace, namely, a similar unity with you, a unity that can in no way be broken,[2] so that we, made peaceful with your Spirit (indicated to us at creation's beginning), may never be separated from your love.

3996 I.CXXV. [. . .] In grave necessities and dangerous situations the saying is: "Surrounded as we are by evils, let us baptize our children as soon as possible."

3997 I.CCXXVIII. The reason why the reception of the divine sacraments is called Communion is that the sacraments join us to God and make us members and participants of his kingdom.

[†] Other than I.XC, letters are translated from PG 78:263–64, 325–26. The translation of Letter I.XC is taken from J. Quasten, *Music & Worship in Pagan & Christian Antiquity* (Washington, D.C., 1983) 81.

1. See John 14:27. 2. See Rom 8:35ff.

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Lawrence J. Johnson is the former executive secretary of the Federation of Diocesan Liturgical Commissions and the former editor/director of The Pastoral Press. He has written several books on the liturgy and its music, including *The Mystery ofFaith: A Study of the Structural Elements of the Order of the Mass.*

Jacket design and layout by David Manahan, OSB.
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ISBN 978-0-8146-6199-4
58495
9 780814 661994
U.S. $84.95